

English Literature for Secondary Schools

(HISTORICAL SECTION)

General Editor—J. H. FOWLER, M.A.

PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF ALEXANDER



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TORONTO

Plutarch's Life of Alexander

Sir Thomas North's Translation

Edited for Schools by

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INTRODUCTION.

I

THE BOOK AND ITS TRANSLATORS.

PLUTARCH'S *Lives*, from which this account of Alexander is taken, were written in the Greek language towards the end of the first century after the birth of Christ. The author, who was a well-educated man of good family, was born at Chaeronea, in Boeotia, and spent most of his life there. He was assiduous in discharging public duties, for we learn that he became chief magistrate of the town, and also, through a fine sense of public spirit, filled other offices of less dignity. In some such capacity, probably as one of a deputation, he paid a visit to Rome. While he was there, we are told, he gave lectures on philosophy.

His most important work is the *Parallel Lives*, in which he gives a series of lives of famous Greeks and Romans (either statesmen or generals). He writes a full account, first of a Greek and then of a Roman, and after that gives us a comparison between the two men. Thus the life of Julius Caesar is followed by that of Alexander the Great, and to these a comparison between Caesar and Alexander is appended.

In reading these lives it is necessary to remember that they are not to be regarded as history; that is to say, that Plutarch is not aiming at accuracy or sifting of evidence. His interest does not lie in politics and empires, but in the men whose lives he is writing, in their characters, aims, and

actions, and in their motives for action. For his chief concern is with the moral effect which the characters and example of his great men may have on us. As he himself declares in his preface to this life, "My intent is not to write histories, but only lives. For the noblest deeds do not always show men's virtues and vices, but oftentimes a light occasion, a word, or some sport makes men's natural dispositions and manners appear more plain, than the famous battles won, wherein are slain ten thousand men ; or the great armies, or cities won by siege, or assault." It is therefore his aim to make the individual characters whom he describes living and real to us ; accordingly he does not reject any anecdote or gossip which may help him to this end, and he is ready to make any digression that may serve him. And it may be worth while to notice in this connection how great is the number of other writers whom he lays under contribution ; altogether in the whole series of lives he is said to refer to 250 different authors.

Plutarch's book was translated out of Greek into French in the middle of the sixteenth century by Amyot, the tutor of the sons of Henry II. of France. Amyot was subsequently made Bishop of Auxerre by Charles IX., one of his royal pupils, and discharged the duties of that bishopric till his death at the good age of eighty.

His translation of Plutarch's *Lives* was extraordinarily popular at the time, partly because of the interest of its subject matter and partly because of his pure and clear style. Amyot's prose holds an important place in the history of the development of the French language.

It was from this French version, and not from the original Greek, that Sir Thomas North made the translation of Plutarch's *Lives* from which this is taken. He was the son of the first Lord North, and was educated at Cambridge, afterwards becoming a student of Lincoln's Inn. In spite of his many excellent personal qualities, and in spite of his influential connections, he appears always to have been in need.

When he was about 40 years old, he accompanied his elder brother on an embassy into France, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that on this expedition he either met with Amyot, or at the least heard much of him. At any rate, five years later, in 1579, he published his translation of Amyot's version of Plutarch's *Lives*, a task for which he was well fitted, in that he had a good knowledge of modern tongues, for he had already made translations from Spanish, Italian, and French. His version of Plutarch's *Lives* is splendidly vivid and robust. He is not always faithful to Amyot, and sometimes is less clear than he might be. An instance of this is to be found on page 43, line 23, where North evidently has only a vague idea of the meaning of the passage he is translating. Occasionally too he is obscure, either because of his vocabulary, or more often through clumsy and loose syntax. Thus he says on page 63, "Being upon an elephant's back, he wanted nothing in height and bigness to be proportionable for his mounture." And a striking example of an ill-constructed sentence is to be found on page 45, beginning at line 11.

But these faults are more than compensated for by the power and force of North's narrative. His words and phrases are often extraordinarily strong and picturesque, and few men have had a finer instinct for the rhythm of prose.

To make this clear let us set side by side three different versions of the same sentence, one by North, one by Langhorne, and one by an American professor, and notice how much more vigorous and full-blooded than the others North's translation is. This particular sentence is to be found on page 5, line 19, but almost any sentence might be chosen at random and answer its purpose equally well.

North. But if thou canst not, no more than they, replied Philip, what wilt thou forfeit for thy folly? I am content (quoth Alexander) to jeopard the price of the horse.

Langhorne. "If you should not be able to ride him, what forfeiture will you submit to for your rashness?" "I will pay the price of the horse."

Professor Wheeler. "In case you don't succeed," rejoined his father, "what penalty are you willing to pay for your freshness?" "I'll pay, by Jove, the price of the horse."

II.

ALEXANDER'S PLACE IN HISTORY.

It is difficult to decide what verdict we are to pass on Alexander the Great. One historian regards him with abhorrence as the destroyer of the free city-life of the Greeks, while another holds that it is only in his character and achievements that we reach the culminating point of Greek civilization. But whichever of these strangely different views may be the right one, it is indisputable that Alexander fills a remarkable position in the world's history. For he set altogether on one side the old Greek ideal of the true nature of a state, and gave the world a new and different conception to take its place. Before we attempt, therefore, to form an estimate of his life's work, it is necessary to understand to some extent what these two ideals were.

The Greeks considered that a man could develop his character best and live his life most completely in that kind of community which is generally called a city-state; and of these city-states Athens will perhaps serve as the best example. If we contrast Athens with a modern kingdom, the first difference that will strike us will be that of size. For the whole extent of Attica was less than a quarter of the area of Yorkshire, and it was quite possible for all the Athenian citizens to meet in Athens to transact public business. The second difference is that the city itself was the state; we speak—rightly—of Athens and not of Attica, whereas it would be impossible for us to-day to speak of London when we wished to refer to the British Empire. But the Athenians themselves regarded all their interests as bound up with Athens herself, and all their supremacy abroad and their questions of foreign policy were looked at from the

point of view of their city. Thus, however complete and highly developed such a state became, it was limited by its very form and nature, and this limitation ultimately proved a fatal weakness. Yet on its own lines there is no doubt that the city-state was, or was capable of being, the most perfectly organized form of community which can be devised. And the history of the people of Athens, of their art, their politics, and their philosophy, affords abundant proof of this.

Nevertheless, this intense concentration of interest was not all for good, it may be a fine ideal to aim at making all the citizens active and helpful members of the state, but if most of the citizens end by being transformed into party-politicians of a mean and narrow outlook, then it will be high time for new ideals. And this is exactly what had happened to the Greek city-states, and the new ideals were the ideals of Alexander the Great.

He has been regarded as being merely a great general inspired by an insatiable lust for conquest; but this is unjust. He had a nobler aim than that before him; he hoped to unite the whole of the world (his geographical ideas were naturally vague) in one vast kingdom. This was not to be a mere aggregation of states, nor a barbaric empire on Oriental lines, for Alexander was marching as the acclaimed General of all Greece, and was conscious that he was carrying Greek civilization with him. The unity of his empire was to be preserved, and in it Greeks and barbarians were to work side by side, just as they were made to fight side by side in his armies. The better to draw together this vast empire, a great system of world commerce was to be established, and the cities he founded—Alexandria the most famous of them—were to be the vital points in this system. In this way the stream Oceanus should finally encircle a complete and completely peaceful and harmonious empire.

These were great aims, and they will seem greater still if we remember that Alexander was only twenty years old when he succeeded to the throne, and that a few years earlier Macedon had been a half-barbarous, unimportant kingdom

of which the Greeks barely took cognisance. That she had risen from this stage to a position which enabled Alexander to start on his scheme of eastern conquests within two years of his accession was due to the genius of his father Philip. This remarkable man had himself become King of Macedon at the age of twenty-four, during his reign he had not only subdued the hill tribes which were a serious and standing menace to his kingdom, but also had united them into one nation with the Macedonians by means of a military organization. This organization, when brought to its final pitch of perfection, provided him with a standing army of professional soldiers, by whose means he made himself master of Greece at the battle of Chaeronea, and by whose means it afterwards became possible for Alexander to conduct campaigns which otherwise must have ended in failure. And besides this army Alexander inherited from Philip another possession of no less importance, in his Hellenic sympathies. For Philip recognized how far above their neighbours the Greeks were in all the arts of civilization; he always courted the friendship of Athens, and he was always ready to welcome Attic philosophers or men of letters to his court. Thus he appointed Aristotle to be his son's tutor. And perhaps this desire to identify himself with Greek civilization was, when all is said and done, the most notable trait in Philip's character, and the most valuable part of the inheritance he bequeathed to his son.

Undoubtedly Philip was an exceptional man, but great as he was he sinks into comparative insignificance beside Alexander. For Alexander's is a character to grip the imagination of men; he is, in the fullest sense of the word, a hero. A man of great personal beauty, and of a physical strength which none of his soldiers could surpass, his exploits show him to have been possessed of a courage which, though at times it fell little short of foolhardy rashness, must have been an inspiration to his men. Nor was it merely the red-hot courage of the moment; that is shown by the spirit of adventure which prompted him to push out far

into unknown lands, and by his dogged persistence in carrying through such a scheme as the terrible march through Gedrosia and Carmania. His character displays too a self-respect and a sense of chivalry which not even the age of knight-errantry can surpass. His courtesy to the daughters of Darius, his trust in Philip the physician, his refusal to drink of the water offered him while his soldiers could not slake their thirst, his treatment of Porus—all these bear witness to his chivalry. And with this quality went a pride which made him conqueror of himself as well as of Asia, and which set down all vice and effeminate luxury as unworthy of him. At the same time his affection for Hephæstion (if we may measure its depth by the extravagance of his grief at his friend's death) shows that his was no cold, self-satisfying nature. His blood ran hot in his veins, and he was liable to sudden fits of passion, which carried him out of the control of his better judgment. From this side of his nature his open, obvious faults all spring, and therefore perhaps are the more easily forgiven.

Lastly, as a general he was supreme. He undertook and carried through, in the most difficult and distant countries, enterprises greater than any others we read of in history, and that without once losing a battle. And when finally he

“thundered on
To die at thirty-five in Babylon,”

he left the world like a ship without a master. Indeed perhaps the best proof of his greatness, as well as of the impracticability of his schemes, lies in the immediate disruption of his dominions after his death.

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THE PREFACE.

HAVING determined in this volume to write the life of King Alexander, and of Julius Caesar, that overcame Pompey, and being to speak of many things, I will use none other preface, but only desire the readers not to blame me though I do not declare all things at large, but briefly touch divers, chiefly in those, their noblest acts and most worthy of memory. For they must remember, that my intent is not to write histories, but only lives. For the noblest deeds do not always show men's virtues and vices, but oftentimes a

light occasion, a word, or some sport makes men's natural dispositions and manners appear more plain, than the famous battles won, wherein are slain ten thousand men ; or the great armies, or cities won by siege, or assault For like as painters or drawers of pictures, which make no account of other parts of the body, do take the resemblances of the face and favour of the countenance, in the which consisteth the judgement of their manners and disposition . even so they must give us leave to seek out the signs and tokens of the mind only, and thereby show the life of either of them, referring you unto others to write the wars, battles, and other great things they did.

CHAPTER I.

ALEXANDER'S BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE.

IT is certain that Alexander was descended from Hercules by Caranus, and that by his mother's side, he came of the blood of the ^{The} ^{parentage of} ^{Alexander.} Aeacides by Neoptolemus. They say also, that King Philip, his father, when he was a young man, fell in fancy with his mother Olympias, which at that time also was a young maiden, and an orphan without father or mother, in the Isle of Samothrace, where they were both received into the mystery and fraternity ¹⁰ of the house of the religious : and that afterwards, he did ask her in marriage of her brother Arymbas, with whose consent they were married together.

Alexander was born on the sixth day of the month of Hecatombaeon, (in English, June) which the Macedonians call Lous. Shortly ^{The birth of} ^{Alexander} after that King Philip had won the city of Potidaea, three messengers came to him the same day that brought him great news. The first, that Parmenio had won a notable battle of ²⁰ the Illyrians : the second, that his horse only won the bell and prize at the Olympian games · and

the third, that his wife had brought him a son called Alexander. Philip being marvellous glad to hear these news, the soothsayers did make his joy yet greater . assuring him, that his son which was born with three victories altogether, should be invincible.

Now for his stature and personage, the statues and images made of him by Lysippus do best
 10 <sup>Alexander's
stature and
personage</sup> declare it, for that he would be drawn of no man but him only. Divers of his successors and friends did afterwards counterfeit his image, but that excellent workman Lysippus only, of all other the chiefest, hath perfectly drawn and resembled Alexander's manner of holding his neck, somewhat hanging down towards the left side, and also the sweet look and cast of his eyes But when Apelles painted Alexander, holding lightning in his hand, he did not show his fresh colour, but made him some-
 20 what black, and swarter than his face indeed was : for naturally he had a very fair white colour, mingled also with red, which chiefly appeared in his face and in his breast. I remember I read also in the commentaries of Aristoxenus, that his skin had a marvellous good savour, and that his breath was very sweet : insomuch that his body had so sweet a smell, of it self, that all the apparel he wore next unto his body, took thereof a passing delightful savour, as if it had been perfumed. And the
 30 cause hereof peradventure might be the very temperature and constitution of his body, which was hot and burning like fire. For Theophrastus is of

opinion, that the sweet savour cometh by means of the heat that drieth up the moisture of the body. By which reason also it appeareth, that the dry and hot countries parched with heat of the sun, are those that deliver unto us the best spices : because that the sun drieth up the moisture of the outward parts, as a matter of corruption. This natural heat that Alexander had, made him (as it appeareth) to be given to drink, and to be hasty. But on the other side, the ambition and desire ¹⁰ he had of honour, showed a certain ^{Alexander} greatness of mind and noble courage, ^{coveted} ^{honour.} passing his years. For he was not (as his father Philip) desirous of all kind of glory : who like a Rhetorician had a delight to utter his eloquence, and stamped in his coins, the victories he had won at the Olympian games, by the swift running of his horse and coaches. For when he was asked one day (because he was swift of foot) whether he would assay to run for victory at the Olympian ²⁰ games : I could be content, said he, so I might run with kings. And yet to speak generally, he misliked all such contention for games. For it seemeth that he utterly misliked all wrestling and other exercise for prize, where men did use all their strength . but otherwise he himself made certain festival days and games of prize for common stage-players, musicians and singers, and for the ~~very~~ Poets also. He delighted also in hunting of divers kinds of beasts, and playing at the staff. ³⁰ Ambassadors being sent on a time from the king of Persia, whilst his father was in some journey

out of his realm: Alexander familiarly entertaining of them, so won them with his courteous entertainment (for that he used no childish questions unto them, nor asked them trifling matters, but what distance it was from one place to another, and which way they went into the high countries of Asia, and of the King of Persia himself, how he was towards his enemies, and what power he had) that he did ravish them with delight to hear him, 10 insomuch that they made no more account of Philip's eloquence and sharp wit, in respect of his son's courage and noble mind, to attempt great enterprises. For when they brought him news that his father had taken some famous city, or had won some great battle, he was nothing glad to hear it, but would say to his play-fellows: Sirs, my father will have all, I shall have nothing left me to conquer with you, that shall be ought worth. For he delighting neither in pleasure nor riches, 20 but only in valiantness and honour, thought that the greater conquests and realms his father should leave him, the less he should have to do for himself. And therefore, seeing that his father's dominions and empire increased daily more and more, perceiving all occasion taken from him to do any great attempt, he desired no riches nor pleasure, but wars and battles, and aspired to a signiory where he might win honour.

At what time Philonicus Thessalian had brought 30 Bucephall the horse to sell unto King Philip, asking thirteen talents, they went into the field to ride him. The horse was found so rough and

churlish, that the riders said he would never do service; for he would let no man get upon his back, nor abide any of the Gentlemen's voices about King Philip, but would yerke out at them. Thereupon Philip being afraid, commanded them to carry him away as a wild beast, and altogether unprofitable: the which they had done, had not Alexander that stood by said. O gods, what a horse do they turn away, for lack of skill and heart to handle him! Philip heard what he said, but held his peace. Alexander oft repeating his words, seeming to be sorry that they should send back the horse again: why, said Philip, dost thou control them that have more experience than thou, and that know better than thou how to handle a horse? Alexander answered, And yet methinks I should handle him better than all they have done. But if thou canst not, no more than they, replied Philip, what wilt thou forfeit for thy folly? I am content (quoth Alexander) to jeopard the price of the horse. Every man laughed to hear his answer: and the wager was laid between them. Then ran Alexander to the horse, and took him by the bridle: and turned him towards the Sun. It seemed that he had marked (as I suppose) how mad the horse was to see his own shadow, which was ever before him in his eye, as he stirred to and fro. Then Alexander speaking gently to the horse, and clapping him on the back with his hand, till he had left his fury and snorting, softly let fall his cloak from him, and

The agility
of Alexander
in taming the
wildness of
Bucephall
the horse

lightly leaping on his back, got up without any danger, and holding the reins of the bridle hard, without striking or stirring the horse, made him to be gentle enough. Then when he saw that the fury of the horse was past, and that he began to gallop, he put him to his full career, and laid on spurs and voice a good. Philip at the first with fear beholding his son's agility, lest he should take some hurt, said never a word. but when he saw
 10 him readily turn the horse at the end of his career, in a bravery for that he had done, all the lookers on gave a shout for joy. The father on the other side (as they say) fell a-weeping for joy. And when Alexander was lighted from the horse, he said unto him kissing his head. O son, thou must needs have a realm that is meet for thee, for Macedon will not hold thee. Furthermore, considering that of nature he was not to be won by extremity, and that by gentle means and persuasion
 20 he could make him do what he would, he ever sought rather to persuade than command him in anything he had to do.

Now Philip putting no great affiance in his schoolmasters of music and humanity, for the
Aristotle was Alexander's schoolmaster instruction and education of his son, whom he had appointed to teach him, but thinking rather that he needed men of greater learning than their capacities would reach unto: and that as Sophocles saith,

30 He needed many reins, and many bits at once :

He sent for Aristotle (the greatest Philosopher in

his time, and best learned) to teach his son, unto whom he gave honourable stipend. For Philip having won and taken before, the city of Stagirus, where Aristotle was born, for his sake he built it again, and replenished it with inhabitants which fled away, or otherwise were in bondage. He appointed them for a school-house and dwelling place, the pleasant house that is by the city of Mieza. In that place are yet seen seats of stone which Aristotle caused to be made, and close 10 walks to walk in the shadow. It is thought also, that Alexander did not only learn of Aristotle, moral Philosophy and humanity, but also he heard of him, other more secret, hard, and grave doctrine, which Aristotle's scholars do properly call Acroamata, or Eoptica, meaning things speculative, which requireth the master's teaching to understand them, or else are kept from common knowledge : which sciences, they did not commonly teach. It seemeth also, that it was Aristotle 20 above all other, that made Alexander take delight to study Physic. For Alexander did not only like the knowledge of speculation, but would exercise practice also, and help his friends when they were sick . and made besides certain remedies, and rules to live by : as appeareth by his letters he wrote, that of his own nature he was much given to his book, and desired to read much. He learned also the Iliads of Homer of Aristotle's correction, which they call τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος, the 30 corrected, as having passed under the rule : and laid it every night under his bed's head with his

dagger, calling it (as Onesicratus writeth) the institution of martial discipline. And when he was in the high countries of Asia, where he could not readily come by other books, he wrote unto Harpalus to send them to him. Harpalus sent him the histories of Philistus, with divers tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus. and certain hymns of Telestus and Philoxenus. Alexander did reverence Aristotle at the first, as
 10 his father, and so he termed him because from his natural father he had life, but from him, the knowledge to live.

When King Philip made war with the Byzantines, Alexander being but sixteen years old, was
 Alexander's left his Lieutenant in Macedon, with the
 first soldier-
 fare. custody and charge of his great seal :
 at what time he also subdued the Medarians which had rebelled against him ; and having won their city by assault, he drave out the barbarous people,
 20 and made a Colony of it, of sundry nations, and called it Alexandropolis, to say, the city of Alexander. He was with his father at the battle of Chaeronea against the Grecians, where it was reported, that it was he that gave charge first of all upon the holy band of the Thebans. Furthermore there was an old oak seen in my time, which the countrymen commonly call Alexander's oak, because his tent or pavilion was fastened to it : and not far from thence is the charnel house,
 30 where those Macedonians were buried that were slain at the battle. For these causes, his father Philip loved him very dearly, and was glad to

hear the Macedonians call Alexander king, and himself their Captain.

[Here Plutarch tells of the quarrel between Philip and Alexander, which followed on the marriage of Philip to a certain Cleopatra ; also of the murder of Philip by Pausanias, and of the suspicion which attached to Alexander of being privy to the plot.]

CHAPTER II.

THE BATTLE OF GRANICUS, AND THE CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR.

ALEXANDER came to be king of Macedon at twenty years of age, and found his realm greatly
envied and hated of dangerous enemies,
and every way full of danger. For the
barbarous nations that were near neigh-
bours unto Macedon, could not abide the bondage
of strangers, but desired to have their natural kings.
Neither had Philip time enough to bridle and pacify
Greece, which he had conquered by force of arms :
10 but having a little altered the governments, had
through his insolency left them all in great trouble
and ready to rebel, for that they had not long
been acquainted to obey. Thereupon Alexander's
council of Macedon, being afraid of the trouble-
some time, were of opinion, that Alexander should
utterly forsake the affairs of Greece, and not to
follow them with extremity, but that he should
seek to win the barbarous people by gentle means,
that had rebelled against him, and wisely to
20 remedy these new stirs. But he far otherwise
determined to stablish his safety by courage and

magnanimity : persuading himself, that if they saw him stoop and yield at the beginning, how little so ever it were, every one would be upon him. Thereupon, he straight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous people, invading them suddenly with his army, by the river of Danube, where in a great battle he overthrew Syrmus, king of the Triballians. Furthermore, having intelligence that the Thebans were revolted, and that the Athenians also were confederate with them : 10 to make them know that he was a man, he marched with his army towards the strait of Thermopylae, saying, that he would make Demosthenes the Orator see (who in his orations, whilst he was in Illyria, and in the country of the Triballians, called him child) that he was grown a stripling passing through Thessaly, and should find him a man before the walls of Athens.

When he came with his army unto the gates of Thebes, he was willing to give them of the city 20 occasion to repent them and therefore Thebes won and razed by Alexander. only demanded Phoenix and Prothytes, authors of the rebellion. Furthermore, he proclaimed by trumpet, pardon and safety unto all them that would yield unto him. The Thebans on the other side, demanded of him Philotas and Antipater, two of his chiefest servants, and made the crier proclaim in the city, that all such as would defend the liberty of Greece should join with them. Then did Alexander leave the 30 Macedonians at liberty to make war with all cruelty. The Thebans also fought with greater

courage and desire than they were able, considering that their enemies were many against one. And on the other side also, when the garrison of the Macedonians which were within the castle of Cadmaea, made a sally upon them, and gave them charge in the rearward : then they being environed of all sides, were slain in manner every one of them, their city taken, destroyed, and razed even to the hard ground. This he did, specially to
 10 Alexander's cruelty to the Thebans. make all the rest of the people of Greece afraid by example of this great calamity and misery of the Thebans, to the end none of them should dare from thenceforth once to rise against him. Excepting the priests, and the religious, and all such as were friends unto any of the Lords of Macedon, all the friends and kinsmen of the poet Pindarus, and all those that had dissuaded them which were the rebels, he sold all the rest of the city of Thebes for slaves , which
 20 amounted to the number of thirty thousand persons, besides them that were slain at the battle, which were six thousand more. Men report, that certainly he oftentimes repented him that he had dealt so cruelly with the Thebans, and the grief he took upon it was cause that he afterwards showed himself more merciful unto divers others.

Then the Grecians having assembled a general council of all the states of Greece within the straits of Peloponnesus, there
 30 Alexander chosen general of all Greece. Alexander's talk with Diogenes it was determined that they would make war with the Persians. Whereupon they chose Alexander General of all Greece.

Then divers men coming to visit Alexander, as well philosophers, as governors of states, to congratulate with him for his election, he looked that Diogenes Sinopian (who dwelt at Corinth) would likewise come as the rest had done : but when he saw he made no reckoning of him, and that he kept still in the suburbs of Corinth, at a place called Cranium, he went himself unto him, and found him laid all along in the Sun. When Diogenes saw so many coming towards him, he sat up a little, and looked 10 full upon Alexander. Alexander courteously spake unto him, and asked him, if he lacked anything. Yea, said he, that I do, that thou stand out of my Sun a little. Alexander was so well pleased with this answer, and marvelled so much at that great boldness of this man, to see how small account he made of him : that when he went his way from him, Alexander's familiars laughing at Diogenes, and mocking him, he told them : Masters say what you list, truly if I were 20 not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.

[Alexander then led an army of 30,000 footmen and 5,000 horsemen across the Hellespont, and visited Troy.]

In the meantime, Darius King of Persia, having levied a great army, sent his Captains and Lieutenants to tarry Alexander at the river of Granicus. There was Alexander to fight of necessity, being the only 30 bar to stop his entry into Asia. Moreover, the Captains of the council about him, were afraid of the depth of this river, and of the height of the bank on the other side, which was very

Battle betwixt
Alexander and
Darius at the
river of
Granicus.

high and steep, and could not be won without fighting. And some said also, that he should have special care of the ancient regard of the month: because the kings of Macedon did never use to put the army into the field in the month of Dason, which is June. For that, said Alexander, we will remedy soon: let them call it the second month, Artemisium, which is May. Furthermore Parmenio was of opinion, that he
10 should not meddle the first day, because it was very late. Alexander made answer again, that Hellespont would blush for shame, if he were now afraid to pass over the river, since he had already come over an arm of the sea. Thereupon he himself first entered the river with thirteen guidons of horsemen, and marched forwards against an infinite number of arrows which the enemies shot at him, as he was coming up the other bank, which was very high and steep, and worst of all,
20 full of armed men and horsemen of the enemies: which stayed to receive him in battle ray, thrusting his men down into the river, which was very deep, and ran so swift, that it almost carried them down the stream: insomuch that men thought him more rash than wise, to lead his men with such danger. This notwithstanding, he was so wilfully bent that he would needs over, and in the end with great ado recovered the other side, specially because the earth slid away, by reason
30 of the mud. So when he was over, he was driven to fight pell-mell man to man, because his enemies did set upon the first that were passed over,

before they could put themselves into battle ray, with great cries, keeping their horses very close together; and fought first with their darts, and afterwards came to the sword when their darts were broken. Then many of them set upon him alone, for he was easily to be known above the rest by his shield, and the hinder part of his helmet, about the which, there hung from the one side to the other, a marvellous fair white plume. Alexander had a blow with a dart upon his thigh, ¹⁰ but it hurt him not. Thereupon Rhoesaces and Spithridates, both two chief Captains of the Persians, setting upon Alexander at once, he left the one, and riding straight to Rhoesaces, who was excellently armed, he gave him such a blow with his lance, that he brake it in his hand, and straight drew out his sword. But so soon as they two had closed together, Spithridates, coming at the one side of him, raised himself upon his stirrups, and gave Alexander with all his might ²⁰ such a blow on his head with a battle-axe, that he cut the crest off his helmet, and one of the sides of his plume, and made such a gash, that the edge of his battle-axe touched the very hair of his head. And as he was lifting up his hand to strike Alexander again, great Clitus prevented him, thrust him through with a ^{Clitus saved Alexander.} partisan; and at the very same instant, Rhoesaces fell dead from his horse with a wound which Alexander gave him with his sword. Now whilst the horse- ³⁰ men fought with such fury, the squadron of the battle of the Macedonians' footmen had passed the

river, and both the battles began to march one against the other. The Persians stuck not manfully to it any long time, but straight turned their backs and fled, saving the Grecians which took pay of King Darius: they drew together upon a hill, and craved mercy of Alexander. But Alexander setting upon them, more of will than discretion, had his horse killed under him, being thrust through the flank with a sword. This was not
10 Bucephall, but another horse he had. All his men that were slain or hurt at this battle, were hurt amongst them valiantly fighting against desperate men. It is reported that there were slain at this first battle, twenty thousand footmen of these barbarous people, and two thousand five hundred horsemen. Of Alexander's side, Aristobulus airteth, that there were slain four and thirty men icall, of the which, twelve of them were footmen. Alexander to honour their valiantness, caused everystone of
20 their images to be made in brass by Lysippus. And because he would make the Grecians partakers of this victory, he sent unto the Athenians three hundred of their targets, which he had won at the battle; and generally upon all the other spoils he put this honourable inscription: Alexander the son of Philip, and the Grecians, excepting the Lacedaemonians, have won this spoil upon the barbarous Asians. As for plate of gold or silver, also purple silks, or other such precious things
30 which he got among the Persians, he sent them all unto his mother, a few except. This first victory of Alexander, brought such a sudden change amongst

the barbarous people in Alexander's behalf, that the city self of Sardes, the chief city of the Empire of the barbarous people, or at the least through all the low countries and coasts upon the sea, yielded straight unto him; and the rest also, saving Halicarnassus and Miletus, which did still resist him · howbeit at length, he took them by force.

[Alexander then subdued all the sea-coast, as far as Cilicia and Phoenicia]

10

In the city of Gordium, which is said to be the ancient seat of King Midas, he saw the charret that is so much spoken of, which is bound with the bark of a cornel tree; and it was told him for a troth, of the barbarous people, that they believed it as a prophecy: that whosoever could undo the band of that bark, was certainly ordained to be king of all the world. It is commonly reported, that Alexander proving to undo the band, and finding no ends to undo it by, they were so many fold wreathed one within the other, he drew out his sword and cut the knot in the midst: so that then many ends appeared. But Aristobulus writeth, that he had quickly undone the knot by taking the bolt out of the axtree, which holdeth the beam and body of the charret, and so severed them asunder. Departing thence, he conquered the Paphlagonians and Cappadocians; and understood of the death of Memnon, that was Darius' General of his army by sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withstand Alexander: whereupon he was the

The city of
Gordium in
Phrygia,
where King
Midas kept.

bolder to go on with his determination, to lead his army into the high countries of Asia.

Then did King Darius himself come against Alexander, having levied a great power at Susa,

Darius' army
and dream.

of six hundred thousand fighting men, trusting to that multitude, and also to a dream, the which his wizards had expounded rather to flatter him, than to tell him truly. Darius dreamed that he saw all the army of the Macedonians on a fire, and Alexander serving of him in the selfsame attire that he himself wore when he was one of the chamber unto the late king his predecessor: and that when he came into the temple of Belus, he suddenly vanished from him. By this dream it plainly appeared, that the gods did signify unto him, that the Macedonians should have noble success in their doings, and that Alexander should conquer all Asia, even as King Darius had done, when he was but Asgandes unto the king: and that shortly after, he should end his life with great honour. This furthermore made him bold also, when he saw that Alexander remained a good while in Cilicia, supposing it had

Alexander's
sickness in
Cilicia
Cydnus fl.

been for that he was afraid of him. Howbeit it was by reason of a sickness he had, the which some say he got by extreme pains and travel, and others also, because he washed himself in the river Cydnus, which was cold as ice. Howsoever it came, there was none of the other physicians that durst undertake to cure him, thinking his disease incurable, and no medicines to prevail that they could give him, and

fearing also that the Macedonians would lay it to their charge, if Alexander miscarried. But Philip Acarnanian, considering his master was very ill, and bearing himself of his love and goodwill towards him, thought he should not do that became him, if he did not prove (seeing him in extremity and danger of life) the utmost remedies of physic, what danger soever he put himself into : and therefore took upon him to minister unto Alexander, and persuaded him to drink it boldly 10 if he would quickly be whole, and go to the wars. In the meantime, Parmenio wrote him a letter from the camp, advertising him, that he should beware of Philip his physician, for he was bribed and corrupted by Darius, with large promises of great riches that he would give him with his daughter in marriage, to kill his master. Alexander when he had read this letter, laid it under his bed's head, and made none of his nearest familiars acquainted therewith 20 When the hour came that he should take his medicine, Philip came into his chamber with other of the king's familiars, and brought a cup in his hand with the potion he should drink. Alexander then gave him the letter, and withal, cheerfully took the cup of him, showing no manner of fear or mistrust of anything It was a wonderful thing and worth the sight, how one reading the letter, and the other drinking the medicine both at one instant, they looked one 30 upon another, howbeit not both with like cheerful countenance. For Alexander looked merrily upon

The wonderful trust of Alexander in his physician

him, plainly showing the trust he had in his physician Philip, and how much he loved him : and the physician also beheld Alexander like a man perplexed and amazed, to be so falsely accused ; and straight lift up his hands to heaven, calling the gods to witness, that he was innocent ; and then came to Alexander's bedside, and prayed him to be of good cheer, and boldly to do as he would advise him. The medicine beginning to
10 work, overcame the disease, and drave for the time, all his natural strength and powers to the lowest parts of his body . insomuch as his speech failed him, and he fell into such a weakness, and almost swooning, that his pulse did scant beat, and his senses were well-near taken from him. But that being past, Philip in few days recovered him again. Now, when Alexander had gotten some strength, he showed himself openly unto the Macedonians :
20 for they would not be pacified, nor persuaded of his health until they had seen him.

CHAPTER III.

THE BATTLE OF ISSUS, AND THE CONQUEST OF SYRIA AND EGYPT.

IN King Darius' camp, there was one Amyntas a Macedonian, and banished out of his country, who knew Alexander's disposition very well. He finding that Darius meant to meet with Alexander within the straits and valleys of the mountains, besought him to tarry rather where he was, being a plain open country round about him, considering that he had a great host of men to fight with a few enemies, and that it was most for his advantage to meet with him in the open field. All those persuasions of Amyntas could not turn Darius from making his camp march towards Cilicia. At the self same time also, Alexander went towards Syria to meet with him. But it chanced one night that the one of them missed the other, and when day was come, they both returned back again: Alexander being glad of this hap, and making haste to meet with his enemy within the straits. Darius also seeking to win Alexander's lodging from whence he came, and to bring his army out of

Darius con-
temneth
Amyntas'
profitable
counsel

Battle betwixt
Darius and
Alexander in
Cilicia.

the straits, began then to find the fault and error committed · for that he had shut himself up in the straits (holden in on the one side with the mountain, and on the other with the sea, and the river of Pinarus that ran between both) and that he was driven to disperse his army into divers companies, in a stony and ill-favoured country, ill for horsemen to travel ; being on the contrary side a great advantage for his enemies, which were
10 excellent good footmen, and but few in number. But now, as fortune gave Alexander the field as he would wish it to fight for his advantage, so could he tell excellently well how to set his men in battle ray to win the victory. For albeit that Alexander had the less number by many than his enemy, yet he had such policy and cast with him, that he foresaw all, and would not be environed. For he did put out the right wing of his battle a great deal further than he did his left wing, and
20 fighting himself in the left wing in the foremost ranks, he made all the barbarous people fly that stood before him. howbeit, he was hurt on his thigh with a blow of a sword. Chares writeth that Darius self did hurt him, and that they fought together man to man Notwithstanding Alexander self writing of this battle unto Antipater, saith, that indeed he was hurt on the thigh with a sword, howbeit it put him to no danger : but he writeth not that Darius did hurt him.
30 Thus having won a famous victory, and slain above a hundred and ten thousand of his enemies, he could not yet take Darius, because he fled,

having still four or five furlongs vantage before him· howbeit he took his charret of battle wherein he fought, and his bow also. Then he returned from the chase, and found the Macedonians sacking and spoiling all the rest of the camp of the barbarous people, where there was infinite riches, (although they had left the most part of their carriage behind them in the city of Damas, to come lighter to the battle) but yet reserved for himself all King Darius' tent, which was full of a ¹⁰ great number of officers, of rich movables, and of gold and silver. So, when he was come to the camp, putting off his armour, he entered into the bath, and said Come on, let us go and wash off the sweat of the battle in Darius' own bath. Nay, replied one of his familiars again, in Alexander's bath for the goods of the vanquished are rightly the vanquisher's. When he came into the bath, and saw the basins and ewers, the boxes, and vials for perfumes, all of ²⁰ clean gold, excellently wrought, all the chambers perfumed passing sweetly, that it was like a paradise· then going out of his bath, and coming into his tent, seeing it so stately and large, his bed, the table, and supper, and all ready in such sumptuous sort, that it was wonderful, he turned him unto his familiars and said: This was a king indeed, was he not think ye? As he was ready to go to his supper, word was brought him, that they ³⁰ were bringing unto him amongst other ladies taken prisoners, King Darius' mother and his wife, and

Darius'
mother, wife,
and two
daughters,
taken by
Alexander.

two of his daughters unmarried : who having seen his charret and bow, burst out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of themselves, thinking Darius had been slain. Alexander paused a good while and gave no answer, pitying more their misfortune, than rejoicing at his own good hap. Then he

presently sent one Leonatus unto them, to let them understand, that Darius was alive, and that they should not need to be afraid of Alexander, for he did not

fight with Darius, but for his kingdom only : and as for them, that they should have at his hands all that they had of Darius before, when he had his whole kingdom in his hands. As these words pleased the captive Ladies, so the deeds that followed, made them find his clemency to be no less. For first, he suffered them to bury as many of the Persian Lords as they would, even of them that had been slain in the battle, and to take as much silks of the spoils, jewels, and ornaments, as they thought good to honour their funerals with : and also did lessen no part of their honour, nor of the number of their officers and servants, nor of any jot of their estate which they had before, but did allow them also greater pensions than they had before. Furthermore, beholding the other Persian Ladies besides

which were prisoners, what goodly fair women they were, he spake it pleasantly, that the Ladies of Persia made men's eyes sore to behold them. Notwithstanding, preferring the beauty of his continency before their sweet fair faces, he passed by without any spark

The
clemency of
Alexander
unto the
captive
ladies

10

20

Alexander's
pleasant
speech of
women's
beauty.

30

of affection towards them, more than if they had been images of stone without life. He was also no greedy-gut, but temperate in eating, as he showed by many proofs: but chiefly in Alexander temperate in eating that he said unto the Princess Ada, whom he adopted for his mother, and made her Queen of Caria. For when (for the love she bare him) she daily sent him sundry delicate dishes of meat, tarts, and marchpanes, and besides the meat itself, the pastlers and cooks to make them, which 10 were excellent workmen: he answered, that he could not tell what to do with them, for he had better cooks than those, appointed him by his governor Leonidas, to wit: for his dinner, to rise before day, and to march by night: and for his supper, to eat little at dinner. And my governor, said he, would oftentimes open How Leonidas brought up Alexander. the chests where my bedding and apparel lay, to see if my mother had put any fine knacks or conceits among them. 20 Furthermore, he was less given to wine, than men would have judged. For he was thought to be a greater bibber than he was, because he sat long at the board, rather to talk than drink. For ever when he drank, he would propound some tedious matter, and yet but when he was at leisure. For having matters to do, there was neither feast, banquet, play, marriage, nor any pastime that could stay him: as they had done other Captains. The which appeareth plainly by the shortness of 30 his life, and by the wonderful and notable deeds he did, in that little time he lived.

When he had leisure, after he was up in the morning, first of all he would do sacrifice to the gods, and then would go to dinner, passing away all the rest of the day in hunting, writing something, taking up some quarrel between soldiers, or else in studying. If he went any journey of no hasty business, he would exercise himself by the way as he went, shooting in his bow, or learning to get up or out of his charret suddenly as it ran. Oftentimes also for his pastime he would hunt the fox, or catch birds, as appeareth in his book of remembrances of every day. Then when he came to his lodging, he would enter into his bath, and rub and anoint himself: and would ask his pantlers and carvers, if his supper were ready. He would ever sup late, and was very curious to see that every man at his board were alike served, and would sit long at the table, because he ever loved to talk, as we have told you before. Otherwise he was as noble a prince and gracious to wait upon, and as pleasant, as any king that ever was. For he lacked no grace nor comeliness to adorn a prince, saving that he would be something over busy in glorying of his own deeds, much like unto a bragging soldier: neither was he contented himself to please his own humour that way, but would also suffer his familiars to soothe him even to his teeth. And this was many times the destruction of honest men about him, the which would neither praise him in his presence hating the flatterers, nor

Alexander's
life when he
was at leisure

Alexander a
pleasant
prince as any
could be

yet durst say less of the praises which they gave him. For of the first they were ashamed, and by the second they fell in danger. After supper, he would wash himself again, and sleep until noon the next day following, and oftentimes all day long. For himself, he was nothing curious of dainty dishes, for when any did send him rare fruits, or fish, from the countries near the sea side, he would send them abroad unto his friends, and seldom keep anything for himself. His table notwithstanding was always very honourably served, and did still increase his fare, as he did enlarge his conquests, till it came to the sum of ten thousand drachmas a day. But there he stayed, and would not exceed that sum. and moreover, commanded all men that would feast him, that they should not spend above that sum.

After the battle of Issus, first Alexander thought it best to win all the sea coast. Thither came the Kings of Cyprus and Phoenicia, and delivered up to him the whole island Alexander besiegeth the city of Tyre. and all Phoenicia, saving only the city of Tyre. That city he besieged seven months together by land, with great bulwarks, and divers engines of battery, and by sea, with two hundred galleys. 20

[During the siege he makes war with the Arabians, and then again returns to Tyre.]

Now for the siege of Tyre, that fell out thus. Alexander caused the most part of his army to take rest, being overharried and wearied with so many battles as they had fought: and sent a few of his men only to give assault unto the city, to 30

keep the Tyrians occupied, that they should take no rest. One day the soothsayer Aristander sacrificing unto the gods, having considered of the signs of the entrails of the beasts, did assure them that were present, that the city should be taken by the latter end of the month. Everybody laughed to hear him : for that day was the very last day of the month. Alexander seeing him amated, as one that could not tell what to say to it, seeking
10 ever to bring those tokens to effect, which the Soothsayers did prognosticate, commanded them that they should not reckon that day the thirtieth day, but the seven and twentieth : and immediately upon it made the trumpet sound the alarm, and give a hotter assault to the wall, than he had thought to have done before. They fought valiantly on both sides, insomuch as they that were left in the camp, could not keep in, but must needs run to the assault to help their companions. The
20 Tyrians seeing the assault so hot on every side, their hearts began to fail them, and by this means was the city taken the self same day.

Another time also, when Alexander was before Gaza, the chief city of Syria, there fell a clod of
Alexander took the city of Gaza. earth upon his shoulder, out of the which there flew a bird into the air.

The bird lighting upon one of the engines of his battery, was caught with the nets made of sinews which covered over the ropes of the engines.
30 Aristander did prognosticate, that it signified he should be hurt in his shoulder, notwithstanding, that he should yet take the town. And indeed it

came so to pass. When he sent great presents of spoils which he won at the sack of this city, unto his mother Olympias, Cleopatra, and divers others of his friends: among other things, he sent unto Leonidas his governor, five hundred talents weight of frankincense, and a hundred talents weight of myrrh: remembering the hope he put him into when he was a child. For, as Alexander was upon a day sacrificing unto the gods, he took both his hands full of frankincense to cast into the fire, ¹⁰ to make a perfume thereof. When his Governor Leonidas saw him, he said thus unto him: When thou hast conquered the country where these sweet things grow, then be liberal of thy perfume: but now, spare that little thou hast at this present. Alexander calling to mind at that time his admonition, wrote unto him in this sort: We do send thee plenty of frankincense and myrrh, because thou shouldest no more be a niggard unto the gods. There was brought unto him ²⁰ a little coffer also, which was thought to be the precioussest thing and the richest that was gotten of all the spoils and riches, taken at the overthrow of Darius. When he saw it, he asked his familiars that were about him, what they thought fittest, and the best thing to be put into it. Some said one thing, some said another thing: but he said, he would put the Iliads of Homer into it, as the worthiest thing.

The building of the city of Alexandria Alexander's dream in Egypt.

This is confirmed by the best Historiographers. ³⁰ Now if that which the Alexandrians report upon Heraclides' words, be true, then it appeareth that

he did profit himself much by Homer in this journey. For it is reported that when he had conquered Egypt, he determined to build a great city, and to replenish it with a great number of Grecians, and to call it after his name. But as he was about to enclose a certain ground, which he had chosen by the advice of his engineers and work-masters, the night before he had a marvellous dream, that he saw an old man standing before him, full of white
 10 hairs, with an honourable presence, and coming towards him said these verses :

Within the foaming sea there lies a certain Island, right
 Against the shore of Egypt, which of ancient Pharos hight.

As soon as he arose the next morning, he went to see this Isle of Pharos, the which at that
 The Isle of
 Pharos. time was a little above the mouth of the
 river of Nile, called Canobia, howbeit it is now joined unto firm land, being forced by man's hand. This he thought the meetest place that
 20 could be, to build the city which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great bar of earth, broad enough, that separateth a great lake on the one side, and the sea on the other, the which doth join hard to a great haven. Then he said that Homer was wonderful in all his things, but that amongst others, he was an excellent Architector : and commanded, that straight they should cast the platform of the city, according to the situation of the place. Now they found at that time, no chalk,
 30 nor white earth there to mark withal, wherefore they were driven to take meal, and with that did

mark out upon the earth being black, the compass of the town that was round and circular, and being divided into two equal parts, either of them resembled the skirts and fashion of the Macedonian cloak. Alexander liked this draught passingly well. But there arose upon the sudden out of the river or lake, such an infinite multitude of great fowl of all sorts, that they ^{A wonder} covered the element as it had been a cloud, and lighting within this circuit, did eat up all the meal, 10 and left not a crumb. Alexander liked not these signs. Notwithstanding, his soothsayers bade him not be discouraged, for they told him it was a sign that he should build a city there, so plentiful of all things, that he should maintain all sorts of people. Then he commanded them, unto whom he had given the charge of the building, that they should go forward with their work, and he himself in the meantime, took his journey to go visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon. The journey was long, 20 and there were many troubles by the way, but two dangers above all the rest ^{Alexander's journey unto the oracle of Ammon.} most special : the first was lack of water, because they had to travel many days' journey through a great desert : the second was, the danger of the rising of the South wind by the way, to blow the sand abroad, which was of a wonderful length. And it is reported, that on a time there arose such a tempest in that desert, that blew up whole hills of sand, which slew fifty thousand men 30 of Cambyes' army. Every man in Alexander's train did know these dangers very well : howbeit

it was hard to dissuade Alexander from anything which he had a desire unto. For, fortune favouring him in all his attempts, made him constant and resolute in his determinations : and his noble courage besides, made him invincible in all things he took in hand ; insomuch as he did not only compel his enemies, but he had power also of time and place. In that voyage, instead of these former dangers spoken of, he had many helps, the
10 which are supposed were sent him from the gods, by the oracles that followed afterwards. For in a certain sort they have believed the oracles that were written of him. First of all, the wonderful water and great showers that fell from the element did keep him from fear of the first danger, and did quench their thirst, and moistened the dryness of the sand, in such sort, that there came a sweet fresh air from it. Furthermore, when the
20 ^{Crows guided Alexander on his journey.} marks were hidden from the guides to show them the way, and that they wandered up and down they could not tell where, there came crows unto them that did guide them flying before them : flying fast when they saw them follow them, and stayed for them when they were behind. But Callisthenes writeth a greater wonder than this, that in the night time, with the very noise of the crows, they brought them again into the right way which had lost their way. Thus Alexander in the end, having passed through
30 this wilderness, he came unto the temple he sought for : where the prophet or chief priest saluted him from the god Ammon, as from his father. Then

Alexander asked him, if any of the murderers that had killed his father, were left alive. The priest answered him, and bade him take heed he did not blaspheme, for his father was no mortal man. Then Alexander again rehearsing that he had spoken, asked him, if the murderers that had conspired the death of Philip his father were all punished. After that, he asked him touching his kingdom, if he would grant him to be King over all the world. The god answered him by the ¹⁰ mouth of his prophet, he should: and that the death of Philip was fully revenged. Then did Alexander offer great presents unto the god, and gave money largely to the priests and ministers of the temple.

Returning out of Phoenicia into Egypt, he made many sacrifices, feasts, and processions in honour of the gods, sundry dances, ^{Alexander made feasts and plays} tragedies, and suchlike pastimes, goodly to behold: not only for the sumptuous setting out ²⁰ of them, but also for the good will and diligence of the setters forth of them, which strived every one to exceed the other.

Darius at that time wrote unto Alexander, and unto certain of his friends also, to pray him to take ten thousand talents for the ransom of all those prisoners he had in his hands, ^{Darius sent ambassadors unto Alexander.} and for all the countries, lands and signiories on this side of the river of Euphrates, and one of his daughters also in marriage, that ³⁰ from thenceforth he might be his kinsman and friend. Alexander imparted this to his council.

Amongst them Parmenio said unto him : If I were Alexander, quoth he, surely I would accept this offer. So would I indeed, quoth Alexander again, if I were Parmenio. In fine, he wrote again unto Darius, that if he would submit himself he would use him courteously : if not, that then he
7 would presently march towards him.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BATTLE OF GAUGAMELA, AND THE SACK OF SUSA AND PERSEPOLIS.

NOW Alexander having conquered all Asia on this side of the river Euphrates, he went to meet with Darius, that came down with ten hundred thousand fighting men. The great battle that Alexander fought with Darius, was not (as many writers report) at Arbela, but at Gaugamela, which signifieth in the Persian tongue, the house of the Camel. For some one of the ancient kings of Persia that had escaped from the hands of his enemies, flying upon a dromedary camel, lodged him in that place, and therefore appointed the revenues of certain villages to keep the camel there. There fell out at that time an eclipse of the Moon, in the month called Boedromion (now August) about the time that the feasts of the mysteries were celebrated at Athens. The eleventh night after that, both the armies being in sight each of other, Darius kept his men in battle ray, and went himself by torch-light viewing his bands and companies. Alexander on the other side whilst his Macedonian soldiers slept,

Darius' army
of ten hun-
dred thousand
fighting men
against
Alexander, at
the river
Euphrates.

was before his tent with Aristander the soothsayer, and made certain secret ceremonies and sacrifices unto Apollo. The ancient Captains of the Macedonians, specially Parmenio, seeing all the valley betwixt the river of Niphates, and the mountains of the Gordiaecans, all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous people, and hearing a dreadful noise as of a confused multitude of people that filled their camp with the sound thereof: they
10 were amazed, and consulted, that in one day it was in manner impossible to fight a battle with such an incredible multitude of people. Thereupon they went unto Alexander after he had ended his ceremonies, and did counsel him to give battle by night, because the darkness thereof should help to keep all fear from his men, which the sight of their enemies would bring them into. But then he gave them this notable answer I will not steal
20 ^{The magnanimity of} Alexander. victory, quoth he. This answer seemed very fond and arrogant to some, that he was so pleasant, being near so great danger. Howbeit others think that it was a present noble courage, and a deep consideration of him, to think what should happen: thereby to give Darius no manner of occasion (if he were overcome) to take heart again, and to prove another battle, accusing the darkness of the night as cause of his overthrow: as he had done at the first conflict, imputing his overthrow to the mountains, the
30 straits, and the sea. For said he, Darius will never leave to make wars with us for lack of men, nor munition, having so large a realm as he hath,

and such a world of people besides: but then he will no more hazard battle, when his heart is done, and all hope taken from him, and that he seeth his army at noondays overthrown by plain battle. After his Captains were gone from him, he went into his tent, and laid him down to sleep, and slept all that night more soundly than he was wont to do before: insomuch as the Lords and Princes of his camp coming to wait upon him at his uprising, marvelled when they found him so sound asleep, and therefore of themselves they commanded the soldiers to eat. Afterwards, perceiving that time came fast upon them, Parmenio went into Alexander's chamber, and coming to his bed's side, called him twice or thrice by name, till at the last he awaked him, and asked him how it chanced that he slept so long, like one that had already overcome, and that did not think he should fight as great and dangerous a battle as ever he did in his life. Why, said Alexander, laughing on him: Dost thou not think we have already overcome, being troubled no more with running after Darius up and down a country utterly destroyed, as we should otherwise have been compelled to have done, if he would not have come to battle, and destroyed the country before us?

Now Alexander did not only show himself before the battle, but even at the very instant of the battle, a noble man of courage; and of great judgement. For Parmenio leading the left wing of his battle, the men of arms

Alexander's
third battle
with Darius.

30

of the Bactrians gave such a fierce onset upon the Macedonians, that they made them give back : and Mazaeus also, King Darius' Lieutenant, sent certain troops of horsemen out of their battle, to give charge upon them that were left in the camp to guard the carriage. Parmenio being amazed with either of both attempts, sent immediately to advertise Alexander, that all their camp and carriage would be lost, if he did not send presently
10 to aid the rearward. When these news came to Alexander from Parmenio, he had already given the signal of battle unto his men for to give charge. Whereupon he answered the messenger that brought him these news, that he should tell Parmenio he was a mad man and out of his wits, not remembering that if they won the battle, they should not only save their own carriage, but also win the carriage of their enemies : and if it were their chance to lose it, then that they should
20 not need to care for their carriage, nor for their slaves, but only to think to die honourably, valiantly fighting for his life. Having sent this
The armour
of Alexander. message unto Parmenio, he put on his helmet. The rest of his armour for his body, he had put it on before in his tent, which was, a Sicilian cassock, and upon that a brigandine made of many folds of canvas with eyelet-holes, which was gotten among the spoils at the battle of Issus. His head-piece was as bright as silver, made
30 by Theophilus the armourer : his collar suit-like to the same, all set full of precious stones, and he had a sword by his side marvellous light, and of

excellent temper, which the King of the Citiaceans had given him, using commonly to fight with his sword at any set battle. His coat-armour was marvellous rich, and of sumptuous workmanship, far above all the rest he wore. It was of the workmanship of Helicon, the which the Rhodians gave him for a present, and this he commonly wore when he went to battle. Now when he did set his men in battle ray, or made any oration unto them, or did ride amongst the bands to take 10 view of them, he always used to ride upon another horse to spare Bucephall, because he was then somewhat old. notwithstanding, when he meant indeed to fight, then Bucephall was brought unto him, and as soon as he was gotten up on his back, the trumpet sounded, and he gave charge. Then, after he had made long exhortations to encourage the men of arms of the Thessalians and the other Grecians also, and when they had all promised him they would stick to him like men, and prayed 20 him to lead them, and give charge upon the enemies: he took his lance in his left hand, and holding up his right hand unto heaven, besought the gods (as Callisthenes writeth) that if it were true he was begotten of Jupiter, that it would please them that day to help him, and to encourage the Grecians. The Soothsayer Aristander was then on horseback hard by Alexander, apparelled all in white, and a crown of gold on his head, who showed 30 Alexander when he made his prayer, an Eagle flying over his head, and pointing directly

An Eagle
flew over
Alexander's
head when
he went to
fight with
Darius

towards his enemies. This marvellously encouraged all the army that saw it, and with this joy, the men of arms of Alexander's side, encouraging one another, did set spurs to their horse to charge upon the enemies. The battle of the footmen of the Persians, began a little to give way, and before the foremost could come to give them charge, the barbarous people turned their backs, and fled. The chase was great: Alexander
10 driving them that fled upon the midst of their own battle, where Darius self was in person, he spied him afar off, over the foremost ranks in the midst of his battle, being a goodly tall Prince, standing in a chariot of war, compassed in round with great troops of horsemen, all set in goodly ordinance to receive the enemy. But when they saw Alexander at hand with so grim a look, chasing them that fled, through those that yet kept their ranks, there fell such a fear among
20 them, that the most part dispersed themselves. Notwithstanding, the best and most valiant men fought it to the death before their King, and falling dead one upon another, they did let them that the enemies could not so well follow Darius. For they lying one by another on the ground, drawing on to the last gasp, did yet take both men and horses by the legs to hinder them. Darius then seeing nothing but terror and
30 The flying of Darius destruction before his eyes, and that the bands which he had set before him for safeguard, came back upon him, so as he could not devise how to turn his chariot forward nor

backward, the wheels were so hindered and stayed with the heaps of dead bodies ; and that the horse also being set upon and hid in manner in this conflict, fell to leaping and plunging for fear, so that the charioteers could no longer guide nor drive them : he got up upon a mare that lately had a foal, and so saved himself flying upon her. And yet had he not thus escaped, had not Parmenio once again sent unto Alexander to pray him to come and aid him : because there was 10 yet a great squadron whole together that made no countenance to fly. Somewhat there was in it, that they accused Parmenio that day to have dealt but slackly and cowardly, either because his age had taken his courage from him, or else for that he envied Alexander's greatness and prosperity, who against his will became over-great, as Callisthenes said. In fine, Alexander was angry with the second message, and yet told not his men truly the cause why, but feigning that he 20 would have them leave killing, and because also night came on, he caused the trumpet sound retreat, and so went towards his army, whom he thought to be in distress. Notwithstanding, news came to him by the way, that in that place also, they had given the enemies the overthrow, and that they fled every way for life. The battle having this success, every man thought that the kingdom of the Persians was utterly overthrown, and that Alexander likewise was 30 become only King of all Asia : whereupon he made sumptuous sacrifices unto the gods, and gave

Alexander's
third victory
of Darius.

great riches, houses, lands, and possessions unto his friends and familiars.

Then Alexander marching with his army into the country of Babylon, they all yielded straight

The strength
and power of
Naphtha, in
the country of
Ecbatania

unto him. When he came into the country of the Ecbatani-
ans, he marvelled when he saw an opening of the earth

out of the which there came continual sparks,
of fire as out of a well: and that hard by
10 also the earth spued out continually a kind of
maund or chalky clay somewhat liquid, of such
abundance, as it seemed like a lake. This maund
or chalk is like unto a kind of lime or clay, but it is
so easy to be set on fire, that not touching it with
any flame, by the brightness only of the light that
cometh out of the fire, it is set on fire, and doth
also set the air on fire which is between both. The
barbarous people of that country, being desirous
to show Alexander the nature of that Naphtha,
20 scattered the street that led to his lodging, with
some of it. Then the day being shut in, they
fired it at one of the ends, and the first drops
taking fire, in the twinkling of an eye, all the rest
from one end of the street to the other was on a
flame, and though it was dark and within night,
lightened all the place thereabout. Alexander
being in a bath at that time, and waited upon by
a page called Stephen (a hard favoured boy, but
yet that had an excellent sweet voice to sing) one
30 Athenophanes an Athenian, that always anointed
and bathed the King, and much delighted him with
his pleasant conceits, asked him if he would see

the trial of this Naphtha upon Stephen : for if the fire took and went not out, then he would say it had a wonderful force, and was unquenchable. The page was contented to have it proved upon him. But so soon as they had laid it on him, and did but touch it only, it took straight such a flame, and so fired his body, that Alexander himself was in a marvellous perplexity withal. And sure had it not been by good hap, that there were many by, ready with vessels full of water to put into the 10 bath, it had been impossible to have saved the boy from being burnt to nothing : and yet so he scaped narrowly, and besides was sick long after. Now some apply this Naphtha unto the fable What Medea's enchantment was. of Medea, saying, that therewith she rubbed the crown and lawn she gave unto the daughter of Creon at her marriage, so much spoken of in the tragedies. For neither the crown nor the lawn could cast fire of themselves, neither did the fire light by chance : but by oiling them with this 20 Naphtha she wrought a certain aptness to receive more forcibly the operation of the fire, which was in place where the bride sat. For the beams which the fire casteth out, have over some bodies no other force, but to heat and lighten them . but such as have an oily dry humour, and thereby a sympathy and proportionable conformity with the nature of the fire, it easily inflameth and setteth on -fire, by the forcible impression of his beams. Howbeit they make a great question of the cause 30 of this natural force of Naphtha, or whether this liquid substance and moist humour, that taketh

fire so easily, doth come of the earth that is fatty and apt to conceive fire. For the country about Babylon is very hot, insomuch as oftentimes barley being put into the ground, it bloweth it up again, as if the earth by vehement inflammation had a strong blast to cast it out: and men in the extremest heat in the summer, do sleep there upon great leather budgets filled full of fresh water. Harpalus, whom Alexander left there his Lieu-

- 10 No ivy in the country of Babylon. tenant and Governor of that country, desiring to set forth and beautify the gardens of the King's palace and walks of the same, with all manner plants of Greece, he brought all the rest to good pass, saving ivy only, which the earth could never abide, but it ever died; because the heat and temper of the earth killed it, and the ivy of itself liketh fresh air and a cold ground. This digression is somewhat from the matter, but peradventure the Reader will not think
20 it troublesome, how hard soever he find it, so it be not over tedious.

Alexander having won the city of Susa, he found within the castle four thousand talents in

Treasure found by Alexander at the city of Susa. ready coin, gold and silver, besides other infinite treasure and inestimable,

amongst the which (it is said) he found to the value of five thousand talents weight of purple Hermiona silk, which they had locked up safe, and kept the space of two hundred years save ten,
30 and yet the colour kept as fresh as if it had been newly made. Some say that the cause why it was so well kept, came by means of the dyeing of

it with honey, in silks, which before had been dyed red, and with white oil in white silks. For, there are silks seen of that colour of as long a time, that keep colour as well as the other. Dinon writeth furthermore, that the kings of Persia made water to be brought from the rivers of Nilus and Ister (otherwise called Danube) which they did lock up with their other treasure for a confirmation of the greatness of their Empire, and to show that they were Lords of the world. 10

The ways to enter into Persia being very hard of passage, and in manner impassable, (both for the illness of the ways, as also for the guard that kept them, which were the Alexander's journey into Persia choicest men of Persia) Darius also being fled thither: there was one that spake the Greek and Persian tongue (whose father was born in the country of Lycia, and his mother a Persian) that guided Alexander into Persia, by some compass fetched about not very long, according to the 20 oracle's answer of Alexander given by the mouth of the Nun Pythias, when he was a child: that a Lycian should guide and lead him against the Persians. There was then great slaughter made in Persia of the prisoners that were taken. For Alexander himself writeth, that he commanded the men should be put to the sword, thinking that the best way to serve his turn. It is said also, that there he found a marvellous Alexander found a marvellous treasure in Persia treasure of gold and silver in ready 30 money, as he had done before in the city of Susa: the which he carried away with all

the rest of the King's rich wardrobe, and with it laded ten thousand moyles, and five thousand camels.

After that, preparing again to go against Darius, he would needs make merry one day, and

The insolent
boldness of
Thais

refresh himself with some banquet. It

chanced so, that he with his companions

was bidden to a private feast privately, where was assembled some of his familiars. Amongst them

10 was that famous Thais, born in the country of Attica. She finely praised Alexander, and partly in sporting wise, began to utter matter in affection of her country, but yet of greater importance than became her mouth: saying, that that day she found herself fully recompensed to her great good liking, for all the pains she had taken, travelling through all the countries of Asia, following of his army, now that she had this favour and good hap to be merry and pleasant, in the proud and stately

20 palace of the great kings of Persia. But yet it would do her more good for a recreation to burn Xerxes' house with the fire of joy, who had burnt the city of Athens: and herself to give the fire to it, before so noble a Prince as Alexander. Because ever after it might be said, that the women following his camp had taken more noble revenge of the Persians, for the wrongs and injuries they had done unto Greece, than all the Captains of Greece that ever were, had done, either by land or sea.

30 When she had said, Alexander's familiars about him, clapped their hands, and made great noise for joy, saying: that it were as good a deed as

could be possible, and persuaded Alexander unto it. Alexander yielding to their per-
 suasions, rose up, and putting a garland Persepolis set on fire by Alexander of flowers upon his head, went foremost himself : and all his familiars followed after him, crying and dancing all about the castle. The other Macedonians hearing of it also, came thither immediately with torches' light and great joy, hoping that this was a good sign that Alexander meant to return again into Macedon, and not to dwell in the ¹⁰ country of the barbarous people, sith he did burn and destroy the king's castle. Thus and in this sort it was thought to be burnt. Some writers think otherwise . that it was not burnt with such sport, but by determination of the council. But howsoever it was, all they grant, that Alexander did presently repent him, and commanded the fire to be quenched straight.

For his liberality, that good will and readiness to give, increased with his conquests: and when he ²⁰ did bestow gifts on any, he would besides Alexander's prodigality reproved by his mother Olympias. his gift, ever give them good countenance, on whom he bestowed his grace and favour. The goods and riches he gave unto his familiars and guard about him, were very great, as it appeared plainly by a letter which his mother Olympias wrote unto him, to this effect : I know thou sparest not to give thy friends large gifts, and that thou makest much of them : but thereby thou makest them king's fellows, they get many friends, ³⁰ and leave thee post alone without any. Alexander did send also many goodly presents unto his

mother, but withal he wrote unto her, that she would meddle no more with his matters nor gifts, taking upon her the office of a captain. She storming at it, he patiently did brook her anger. Antipater another time, writing a long letter unto him against his mother Olympias, when he had read it over, Lo, said he, Antipater knoweth not, that one tear of the mother's eye will wipe out ten thousand such letters.

- 10 Furthermore, Alexander perceiving on a time, that his friends became very dissolute and licentious
 Alexander in diet and life, and that Agnon Teian
 reproveth the fineness and
 curiosity of his friends had his corked shoes nailed with silver
 nails ; that Leonatus also caused divers
 camels to be laden amongst his carriage with
 powder of Egypt, to put upon him when he
 wrestled or used any other exercise of body ; and
 that also they carried after Philotas, toils for chase
 and hunting, of a hundred furlong long ; and that
 20 there were also that used precious perfumes and
 sweet savours when they bathed themselves, more
 than there were that rubbed themselves with plain
 oil ; and that they had fine chamberlains to rub
 them in the bath, and to make their beds soft and
 delicate : he wisely and courteously rebuked them
 and said : I marvel, said he, that you which have
 fought in so often and great battles, do not
 remember that they which travel, do sleep more
 sweet and soundly, than they that take their ease
 30 and do nothing . and that you do not mark, that
 comparing your life, with the manner of life of
 the Persians, to live at pleasure is a vile thing, and

to travel is princely. And how I pray you, can a man take pain to dress his own horse, or to make clean his lance or helmet, that for slothful curiosity's sake, disdaineth to rub his own body with his fingers? Are you ignorant, that the type of honour in all our victory consisteth, in scorning to do that which we see them do, whom we have vanquished and overcome? To bring them therefore by his example, to acquaint themselves with hardness, he took more pains <sup>Alexander
an enemy</sup> unto idleness ¹⁰ in wars and in hunting, and did hazard himself more dangerously, than ever he had done before. Whereupon an Ambassador of Lacedaemon being present to see him fight with a Lion, and to kill him, said unto him: Truly your Grace hath fought well with this Lion, and tried which of you two should be King.

CHAPTER V.

THE PURSUIT OF DARIUS, AND THE MURDER OF PHILOTAS, PARMENIO, AND CLITUS.

ALEXANDER had then a marvellous long, hard, and painful journey in following of Darius : for in
Alexander's
painful
journey in
following of
Darius eleven days, he rode three thousand and three hundred furlongs, insomuch as the most part of his men were even weary,

and done for lack of water. It chanced him one day to meet with certain Macedonians that carried (upon moyles) goatskins full of water, which they had fetched from a river. They seeing Alexander
10 in manner dead for thirst, being about noon, ran quickly to him, and in a head-piece brought him water. Alexander asked
The love of
Alexander to
his soldiers,
and
abstinence. them, to whom they carried this water.

They answered him again, that they carried it to their children, but yet would have your Grace to live : for though we lose them, we may get more children. When they had said so, Alexander took the helmet with water, and perceiving that the men of arms that were about him, and had
20 followed him, did thrust out their necks to look upon this water, he gave the water back again unto them that had given it him, and thanked them, but drank none of it : For said he, if I drink

alone, all these men here will faint. Then they seeing the noble courage and courtesy of Alexander, cried out that he should lead them, and therewithal began to spur their horses, saying, that they were not weary nor athirst, nor did think themselves mortal, so long as they had such a King. Every man was alike willing to follow Alexander, yet had he but threescore only that entered with him into the enemy's camp. There, passing over much gold and silver, which was scattered abroad in the place, and going also by many chariots full of women and children, which they found in the fields, flying away at all adventure: they ran upon the spur, until they had overtaken the foremost that fled, thinking to have found Darius amongst them. But at the length, with much ado, they found him laid along in a coach, having many wounds upon his body, some of darts, and some of spears. So he being almost at the last cast, called for some drink, and drank cold water, which Polystratus gave him. To whom, when he had drunk, he said :

Alexander
regardeth not
the spoil of
gold and
silver, in
respect of
pursuing his
flying enemy. 10

The death of
Darius

This is my last mishap my friend, that having received this pleasure, I cannot requite thee: howbeit Alexander will recompense thee, and the gods Alexander, for the liberality and courtesy which he hath showed unto my wife and children, whom I pray thee embrace for my sake. At these last words, he took Polystratus by the hand, and so gave up the ghost. Alexander came immediately after, and plainly showed that he was

30

sorry for his death and misfortune : and undoing his own cloak, he cast it upon the body of Darius.

The punishment and execution of Bessus

After that, having by good hap gotten Bessus into his hands, he tare him in pieces with two high straight trees which he bowed downwards, and tied his legs to each of them : so that when the trees were let go, they gave a sudden cruel jerk up, and carried either tree a piece of his body with it. Then Alexander
10 having given Darius' corpse princely burial, and embalmed him, he sent it unto his mother, and received his brother Exathres for one of his friends.

From thence he went into the country of Hyrcania with all the flower of his army, where he

The sea, Hyrcanian or Caspian

saw the gulf of the sea Caspian, which he thought of no less greatness, than the sea of Pontus, howbeit calmer than the other seas be. He could not then certainly find out what it was, nor from whence it came : but of likelihood
20 he thought it was some breaking out of the lake or marish of Maeotis. Yet some ancient natural Philosophers seemed to know truly what it was. For many years before Alexander's voyage and conquest, they wrote, that of the four chiefest gulfs of the sea, which come from the Ocean, and do enter within mainland, that which is more Northerly, is the sea Caspian, which they call also Hyrcanian. As Alexander went through the country, certain barbarous people suddenly set upon them that led
30 Bucephall his horse, and took him . but with that he was in such a rage, that he sent a Herald into their countries to proclaim open wars upon them,

and that he would put man, woman, and child to the sword, if they brought him not his horse again. Whereupon, when his horse was returned home, and that they yielded up their cities and forts into his hands, he did use them all very courteously, and moreover did give them money for the ransom of his horse, which they restored.

Departing thence, he entered into the country of Parthia. There having leisure enough, he began to apparel himself after the fashion of the barbarous people, because he thought thereby the better to win the hearts of the countrymen, framing himself unto their own fashions : or else to try the hearts of the Macedonians, to see how they would like the manner of the Persians (which he meant to bring them unto) in reverencing of him as they did their King, by little and little acquainting them to allow the alteration and change of his life. This notwithstanding, he would not at the first take up the apparel of the Medes, which was very strange, and altogether barbarous. For he went not without breeches, nor did wear a long gown trailing on the ground, nor a high coptant hat, but took a mean apparel, betwixt the Medes and the Persians, more modest than the one, and more costly than the other : and yet at the first he did not wear it, but when he would talk with the barbarous people, or else privately amongst his friends and familiars. Afterwards notwithstanding, he showed himself openly to the people in that apparel, when he gave them audience. This sight grieved the Macedonians

Alexander
goeth after
the manner of
the Persians

10

20

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much : but they had his virtues in such admiration, that they thought it meet in some things he should take his own pleasure, sithence he had been often hurt in the

Some faults
are to be borne
with, in a
man of great
virtue

wars, and not long before had his leg broken with an arrow ; and another time, had such a blow with a stone full in his neck, that it made him purre-blind a great while after, and yet nevertheless he never eschewed any bodily danger : for he passed
10 over the river of Oraxartes, which he took to be Tanais, and having in battle overthrown the Scythians, he followed them in chase above an hundred furlongs, notwithstanding that at that instant he had a looseness of body.

Furthermore, Alexander fearing that the Macedonians, being weary with this long war, would go no further, he left all the rest of his army behind, and took only twenty thousand footmen, and three
20 thousand horsemen of the choicest men of his army, and with them invaded the country of Hyrcania. Thereupon he did frame himself the more to live after the fashion of the country there, and interchangeably also to bring the men of that country unto the manner of the Macedonians : being persuaded that by this mixture and interchange of manners one with another, he should by friendship more than force, make them agree lovingly together, when that he should be so far from the country of Persia. For this purpose
30 therefore, he chose thirty thousand of their children of that country, and set them to learn the Greek tongue, and to be brought up in the discip-

line of wars, after the Macedonians' manner : and gave them schoolmasters and Captains to train them in each faculty.

[Alexander also marries Roxana, a Persian. After that follows an account of Philotas, Parmenio's son, and his foolish and boastful words against Alexander. Presently he is accused of being privy to a plot to murder Alexander.]

Thereupon he was apprehended, and in the presence of divers Lords and familiars of the king put to the torture, Alexander self hanging behind, 10 to hear what he would say. It is reported, that when he heard how faintly and pitifully he besought Hephaestion to take pity upon him, he said unto himself: Alas, poor Philotas, thou that hast so faint a heart, how durst thou take upon thee so great matters? In fine Philotas was put to death, and immediately after he was executed, Alexander sent also with speed unto the Realm of Media to kill Parmenio, who was his Lieutenant there, and one that had 20 served King Philip his father, in his greatest affairs ; and he only of all other the old servants of his father had procured Alexander to take in hand the conquest of Asia : and who also of three sons which he brought out with him, had seen two of them die before him, and afterwards was slain himself with the third.

Philotas
and his father
Parmenio
put to death

Not long after that, followed the murder of Clitus, the which to hear it simply told, would seem much more cruel than the death of Philotas. 30 But reporting the cause and the time together in which it chanced, it will be found that it was

not of set purpose, but by chance and unfortunately, that Alexander being overcome with wine, did unluckily wreak his anger upon Clitus. The manner of his misfortune was this. There came certain men of the low countries from the sea side, that brought apples of Greece unto Alexander. Alexander wondering to see them so green and fair, sent for Clitus to show him them, and to give him some of them. Clitus
 10 by chance did sacrifice at that time unto the gods, and left his sacrifice to go unto Alexander: howbeit, there were three wethers that followed him, on whom the accustomed sprinklings had been done already to have sacrificed them. Alexander understanding that, told it to his Soothsayers, Aristander, and Cleomantis Laconian; both did answer him, that it was an ill sign. Alexander thereupon gave order straight, that they should do sacrifice for the health of Clitus, and specially for that
 20 three days before he dreamed one night that he saw Clitus in a mourning gown, sitting amongst the sons of Parmenio, the which were all dead before. This notwithstanding, Clitus did not make an end of his sacrifice, but came straight to supper to the king, who had that day sacrificed unto Castor and Pollux. At this feast there was old drinking, and all the supper time there were certain verses sung and made by a Poet, called Pranichus (or as others
 30 say, of one Pierion) against certain Captains of the Macedonians, which had not long before been overcome by the barbarous people; and only to

Why
Alexander
slew Clitus.

Alexander's
dream of
Clitus.

shame them, and to make the company laugh. With these verses, ancient men that were at this feast, became much offended, and grew angry with the Poet that made them, and the minstrel that sung them. Alexander on the other side, and his familiars, liked them very well, and commanded the minstrel to sing still. Clitus therewithal being overtaken with wine, and besides of a churlish nature, proud and arrogant, fell into greater choler, and said . that it was neither well 10 nor honestly done in that sort to speak ill of those poor Macedonian Captains (and specially amongst the barbarous people their enemies) which were far better men than they that laughed them to scorn, although their fortune were worse than theirs. Alexander then replied, and said, that saying so, he pleaded for himself, calling cowardliness, misfortune. Then Clitus standing up, said again . But yet this my cowardliness saved thy life, that callest thyself the son of the gods, when thou turnedst thy back from Spithridates' sword : and the blood which these poor Macedonians did shed for thee, and the wounds which they received on their bodies fighting for thee, have made thee so great, that thou disdainest now to have King Philip for thy father, and wilt needs make thyself the son of Jupiter Ammon. Alexander being moved with these words, straight replied : O, villain, thinkest thou to escape unpunished for these proud words 30 of thine, which thou usest continually against me, making the Macedonians to rebel against me?

The
malapertness
of Clitus
against
Alexander. 20

Clitus answered again, Too much are we punished, Alexander, for our pains and service to receive such reward : nay, most happy think we them that long since are dead and gone, not now to see the Macedonians scourged with rods of the Medes, and compelled to curry favour with the Persians, to have access unto their king. Thus Clitus boldly speaking against Alexander, and Alexander again answering and reviling him, the
10 gravest men sought to pacify this stir and tumult. Alexander then turning himself unto Xenodochus Cardian, and Artemius Colophonian : Do you not think (said he) that the Grecians are amongst the Macedonians, as demi-gods that walk among brute beasts ? Clitus for all this would not give over his impudency and malapertness, but cried out, and bade Alexander speak openly what he had to say, or else not to bid free men to come to sup with him that were wont to speak frankly : if not,
20 to keep with the barbarous slaves that honoured his Persian girdle, and long white garment. Then could Alexander no longer hold his choler, but took an apple that was upon his table, and threw it at Clitus, and looked for his sword, the which Aristophanes, one of his guard that waited on him, had of purpose taken from him. And when every man came straight about him to stay him, and to pray him to be contented, he immediately rose from the board, and called his guard unto
30 him in the Macedonian tongue (which was a sign of great trouble to follow after it) and commanded a trumpeter to sound the alarm. But he drawing

back, would not sound : whereupon Alexander strake him with his fist. Notwithstanding, the trumpeter was greatly commended afterwards, for that he only kept the camp that they rose not. All this could not quiet Clitus, whereupon his friends with much ado thrust him out of the hall : but he came in again at another door, and arrogantly and irreverently rehearsed this verse of the Poet Euripides, out of Andromache's tragedy :

Alas for sorrow, evil ways
Are into Greece crept nowadays.

10

Then Alexander taking a partisan from one of his guard, as Clitus was coming towards him, and had lift up the hanging before the door, he ran him through the body, so that Alexander slew Clitus, and grievously repented him Clitus fell to the ground, and fetching one groan, died presently. Alexander's choler had left him straight, and he became marvellous sorrowful : and when he saw his friends round about him say never a word, he plucked the 20 partisan out of his body, and would have thrust it into his own throat. Howbeit his guard about him caught him by the hands, and carried him perforce into his chamber : and there he did nothing all that night but weep bitterly, and the next day following, until such time as he was able to cry no more, but lying on the ground, only lay sighing. His friends hearing his voice no more, ~~were~~ afraid, and came into his chamber by force to comfort him. But Alexander would hear none of 30 them, saving Aristander the Soothsayer, who remembered him of his dream he had of Clitus before,

which was a prognostication of that which had happened : whereby it appeared that it was his destiny, before he was born. This seemed to comfort Alexander. Afterwards they brought in Callisthenes the Philosopher, a kinsman of Aris-

Callisthenes, totle's, and Anaxarchus born in Abdera.

Of these two Callisthenes sought by

gentle talk, not moving any matter

offensive, to comfort Alexander's sorrow. But

- 10 Anaxarchus that from the beginning had taken a way by himself in the study of Philosophy, being accounted a brain-sick man, and one that despised his companions, he coming into Alexander's chamber also with him, cried out at the door as he came in : See, yonder is Alexander the Great, whom all the world looks upon, and is afraid of : see where he lies, weeping like a slave on the ground, that is afraid of the law, and of the reproach of men : as if he himself should not give
- 20 them law, and stablish the bounds of justice or injustice, sithence he hath overcome to be Lord and master, and not to be subject and slave to a vain opinion. Knowest thou not that the Poets say, that Jupiter hath Themis, to wit, right and justice placed on either hand of him ? What signifieth that, but all that the prince doth, is holy, right, and just ? These words of Anaxarchus did comfort the sorrowful heart of King Alexander at that time, but therewithal, they made Alexan-
- 30 der's manners afterwards more fierce and dissolute.

[Alexander now leads his army into India. He is opposed by Porus.]

CHAPTER VI.

ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION TO INDIA : HIS RETURN AND DEATH.

FOR King Porus, Alexander self writeth in his Epistles, all his acts at large which he did against him. For he saith, that both their camps lying on either side of the river of Hydaspes, King Porus set his Elephants upon the bank of the river with their heads towards their enemies, to keep them from passing over · and that he himself did continually make a noise and tumult in his camp to acquaint his men not to be afraid of the barbarous people. Further-
more, that in a dark night when there was no Moonlight, he took part of his footmen, and the choice of his horsemen, and went far from his enemies to get over into a little Island. When he was come into the Island, there fell a wonderful shower of rain, great winds, lightnings and thunders upon his camp, insomuch as he saw many of his men burnt by lightning in this little Island. This notwithstanding, he did not leave to get over to the other side of the river. The river being
swollen with the great flood of rain that fell the

Alexander's
acts against
King Porus
Hydaspes fl.

night before, overflowing the banks, it did eat into the ground where the water ran : so that Alexander when he had passed over the river, and was come to the other side, found himself in very ill case, for that he could hardly keep his feet, because the earth was very slippery under him, and the rage of the water had eaten into it, and broke it down on every side. It is written of him, that then he said unto the Athenians : O Athenians, could ye think
10 that I could take such pains, and put myself into so many dangers, only to be praised of you ? Thus Onesicritus reporteth it. But Alexander self writeth, that they left their rafters or great pieces of timber pinned together, whereupon they had passed over the stream of the main river : and that they waded through the other arm or gut of the water which had broken the earth, up to their breasts, with their harness on their backs. Furthermore, when he had passed over both waters, he
20 rode with his horsemen twenty furlongs before the battle of his footmen, thinking that if his enemies came to give him charge with their men of arms, that he was the stronger : and if they would also advance their footmen forward, that his footmen also should come time enough. One of the twain fell out as he had guessed : for a thousand horsemen and threescore charrets armed with his enemies, gave him charge before their great company ; whom he overthrew, and took all their
30 charrets, and slew four hundred of the men at arms in the field. King Porus then knowing by those signs that Alexander was there in person,

and had passed over the river, he marched towards him with all his army in battle ray, saving a few which he left behind to resist the Macedonians, if they should force to pass over the river. Alexander being afraid of the great multitude of his enemies, and of the terror of the Elephants, did not give charge upon the midst of the battle, but being himself in the left wing, gave charge upon the corner of the enemy's left wing, and also commanded them that were in the right wing to do the like. So both the ends of the enemy's army were broken and put to flight and they that fled ran unto the Elephants, and gathered themselves together about them. Thus the battle being begun, the conflict continued long, insomuch as the enemies were scanty all overthrown by three of the clock in the afternoon.

Most writers agree, that Porus was four cubits and a shaft-length high, and that being upon an Elephant's back, he wanted nothing in height and bigness to be proportionable for his mounture, albeit it were a very great Elephant; and besides, that the Elephant did show great wit and care to save the king his master. For whilst he perceived his master was strong enough, he lustily repulsed those which came to assail him: but when he found that he began to faint, having many wounds upon his body, and arrows sticking in it, then being afraid lest his master should fall down from his back, he softly fell on his knees, and gently taking his darts and arrows

The stature
of King
Porus 20

The quick wit
and care of
the Elephant
to save the
king his
master.

with his trunk, which he had in his body, he plucked them all from him one after another. Porus being taken, Alexander asked him, how he should handle him. Princely, answered Porus. Alexander asked him again, if he would say anything else. I comprehend all, said he, in this word, Princely. Thereupon Alexander did not only leave him his provinces and realms, whereof before he was king, by the name of his Lieutenant,
 10 but gave him many other countries also.

When he had subdued all the free people, of the which there were fifteen several nations, five
 Alexander's thousand of no small cities, besides an conquests in the Indies infinite number of villages, and thrice as many other countries, he made Philip one of his friends, his Lieutenant of all those countries.

His horse Bucephall died at this battle, not in the field, but afterwards whilst he was in cure for the wounds he had on his body : but
 20 The death of Bucephall, Alexander's horse as Onesicritus saith, he died even worn for very age. Alexander was as sorry

for his death, as if he had lost any of his familiar friends : and for proof thereof, he built a great

Bucephalia, a city in the place where his horse was great city, buried, upon the river of Hydaspes, the built by Alexander which he called after his name, Bucephalia. It is reported also, that having upon the river of Hydaspes ; lost a dog of his called Peritas, which and why so named. he had brought up of a whelp, and
 Peritas, Alexander's dog

30 loved very dearly, he built also a city, and called it after his name. Sotion writeth, that he heard it reported thus of Potamon Lesbian.

This last battle against King Porus, killed the Macedonians' hearts, and made them that they had no desire to go any further to conquer India. For finding that they had such ado to overcome them, though they were but twenty thousand footmen, and two thousand horse, they spake ill of Alexander when he went about to compel them to pass over the river of Ganges, understanding by the countrymen that it was Ganges fl. two and thirty furlongs over, and a hundred to fathom deep: and how that the bank of the river was full of soldiers, horsemen and Elephants. For it was reported, that the kings of the Gandaridae, and the Praesians were Gandaridae, and Praesii, people of India on the other side with four score thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footmen, eight thousand charrets or carts of war well armed, and six thousand Elephants of war. This was no fable, nor frivolous tale: for a king called Androcottus (who reigned not long after) gave 20 unto Seleucus, five hundred Elephants at one time, and conquered all India with six hundred thousand fighting men. Alexander then offended with his men's refusal, kept close in his tent for certain days, and lay upon the ground, saying, that he did not thank them for all that they had done thitherunto, unless they passed over the river of Ganges also; and that to return back again, it was as much as to confess, that he had been overcome. At the length, when he saw and considered that 30 there was great reason in his friends' persuasions which laboured to comfort him, and that his

soldiers came to the door of his tent, crying and lamenting, humbly beseeching him to lead them back again : in the end he took pity of them, and was contented to return.

This notwithstanding, before he departed from those parts, he put forth many vain and false

Alexander's
return out of
India. His
vain devices
to make
himself im-
mortal

10

devices to make his name immortal among that people. He made armours of greater proportion than his own, and mangers for horses, higher than the common sort : moreover, he made bits also far heavier than the common sort, and made them to be thrown and scattered abroad in every place. He built great altars also in honour of the gods, the which the kings of the Praesians have in great veneration at this day, and passing over the river, do make sacrifices there, after the manner of the Grecians.

Departing thence, he went to see the great sea
20 Oceanus, and made divers boats with oars, in the which he easily went down the rivers at his pleasure. Howbeit, this his pleasant going by water, was not without war : for he would land oftentimes, and did assail cities, and conquered all as he went. Yet in assailing the city of the Mallians, (which they say are the warlikest men of

Alexander in
danger at
the city of
the Mallians

all the Indians) he was almost slain there. For having with darts repulsed the enemies from the wall, he himself
30 was the first man that set foot on a ladder to get up, the which brake as soon as ever he was gotten upon the rampart. Then the barbarous people

coming together against the wall, did throw at him from beneath, and many times lighted upon him. Alexander having few of his men about him, made no more ado, but leaped down from the wall in the midst of his enemies, and by good hap lighted on his feet. His harness making a great noise with the fall, the barbarous people were afraid, thinking they had seen some light or spirit go before them: so that at the first they all betook them to their legs, and ran scatteringly ¹⁰ here and there. But after that, when they came again to themselves, and saw, that he had but two Gentlemen only about him, they came and set upon him of all hands, and fought with him at the sword or push of the pike, and so hurt him very sore through his armour but one amongst the rest, being somewhat farther off, gave him such a terrible blow with an arrow, that he strake him through his cuirass, and shot him in at the side under his breast. The blow entered so into his ²⁰ body, that he fell down on one of his knees. Whereupon, he that had stricken him with his arrow, ran suddenly to him with a scimitar drawn in his hand: howbeit as Peucestas and Limnaeus stepped before him, and were both hurt, Limnaeus was slain presently, and Peucestas fought it out, till at the length Alexander self slew the barbarous man with his own hand, after he had many grievous wounds upon his body. At the length he had a blow with a dart on his neck, that so ³⁰ astonied him, that he leaned against the wall looking upon his enemies. In the meantime the

Macedonians compassing him round about, took him, and carried him into his tent half in a swoond, and was past knowledge whereupon there ran a rumour straight in the camp, that Alexander was dead. They had much ado to cut the arrow asunder that was of wood . so his cuirass being plucked off with great pain, yet were they to pluck the arrow-head out of his body, which stuck in one of his bones : the which (as it is reported) 10 was four fingers long, and three fingers broad. So that when they plucked it out, he swooned so oft, that he was almost dead. This notwithstanding, he overcame the danger, and escaped. Being very weak, he kept diet a long time to recover himself, and never came out of his tent until he heard the Macedonians cry, and make great noise about his tent, desirous to see him. Then he put on a night-gown, and came out amongst them all : and after he had done sacrifice unto the 20 gods for recovery of his health, he went on his journey again, and in the same did conquer many great countries, and took divers goodly cities.

He did also take ten of the wise men of the country, which men do all go naked, and therefore
The wise men of India. are called Gymnosophistae, (to wit, Philosophers of India) who had procured Sabbas to rebel against him, and had done great hurt unto the Macedonians. And because they were taken to be the sharpest and readiest of 30 answer, he did put them (as he thought) many hard questions, and told them he would put the first man to death, that answered him worst, and

so the rest in order · and made the eldest among them Judge of their answers. The question he asked the first man, was this :

1. Whether the dead or the living were the greater number? He answered, The living : for the dead, said he, are no more men.

Alexander's
questions pro-
pounded to
the ten
philosophers
of India

2. The second man he asked : Whether the earth or the sea brought forth most creatures ? He answered, The earth. For the sea, said he, is but a part of the earth.

3. To the third man : Which of all beasts was the subtlest ? That (said he) which man hitherto never knew.

4. To the fourth : Why he did make Sabbas rebel ? Because, said he, he should live honourably, or die vilely.

5. To the fifth · Which he thought was first, the day, or the night ? He answered, The day, by a day. The king finding his answer strange, 20 added too this speech Strange questions must needs have strange answers.

6. Coming to the sixth man, he asked him : How a man should come to be beloved ? If he be a good man, said he, not terrible.

7. To the seventh, How a man should be a god ? In doing a thing, said he, impossible for a man.

8. To the eighth : Which was the stronger, life, or death ? Life, said he, that suffereth so many troubles. 30

9. And unto the ninth and last man : how long

a man should live? Until, said he, he think it better to die than to live.

When Alexander had heard these answers, he turned unto the Judge, and bade him give his judgement upon them. The Judge
Alexander rewarded the ten wise men, and did let them go said, they had all answered one worse than another. Then shalt thou die first, said Alexander, because thou hast given such sentence: Not so, O king, quoth he, if thou wilt
10 not be a liar: because thou saidest, that thou wouldest kill him first, that had answered worst. In fine, Alexander did let them go with rewards.

Alexander continued seven months travelling upon the rivers, to go see the great sea Oceanus. Then he took ship and sailed into a
Psiltucis an Island little island called Scyllustis, howbeit others call it Psiltucis. There he landed, made sacrifices unto the gods, and viewed the greatness and nature of the sea Oceanus, and all the situa-
20 tion of the coasts upon that sea, as far as he could go. Then he made his prayers unto the gods, that no conqueror living after him should go beyond the bounds of his journey and conquest, and so returned homeward. He commanded his
Alexander's navy in the sea Oceanus ships should fetch a compass about, and leave India on the right hand: and made Nearchus Admiral of all his fleet, and Onesicritus chief Pilot. He himself in the meantime went by land through the country of the Orïtes,
30 and there he found great scarcity of victuals, and lost many of his men: so that he carried not out of India the fourth part of his men of war which

he brought thither, which were in all, six score
 thousand footmen, and fifteen thousand horsemen.
 Some of them died of grievous dis- Alexander's
army going
into India
 eases · others, by ill diet · others, by
 extreme heat and drought, and the most part of
 them by hunger, travelling through this barren
 country, where the poor men lived hardly, and
 had only a few sheep which they fed Sheep fed
with fish.
 with sea fish, that made their flesh
 savour very ill favouredly. At the length, when 10
 in three score days' journey he had painfully
 travelled through this country, he then entered
 into the country called Gedrosia, where The country
of Gedrosia.
 he found great plenty of all kind of
 victuals, which the governors, kings and princes,
 neighbours unto the same, did send unto him.
 After he had refreshed his army there a little, he
 went through the country of Carmania, The country
of Carmania
 where he continued seven days together
 banqueting, going still through the country. For 20
 night and day he was feasting continually with
 his friends upon a scaffold longer than broad,
 rising up of height, and drawn with eight goodly
 horse. After that scaffold followed divers other
 charrets covered over, some with goodly rich
 arras, and purple silk ; others with trim fresh
 boughs, which they renewed at every field's end :
 and in those were Alexander's other friends and
 Captains with garlands of flowers upon their
 heads, which drank and made merry The riot of
Alexander's
soldiers. 30
 together. In all this army, there was
 neither helmet, pike, dart, nor target seen : but

gold and silver bowls, cups, and flagons in the soldiers' hands, all the way as they went, drawing wine out of great pipes and vessels, which they carried with them, one drinking to another, some marching in the fields going forward, and others also set at the table. About them were the minstrels playing and piping on their flutes and shawms, and women singing and dancing, and fooling by the way as they went. In all this
10 dissolute marching through the country, and in the midst of their drunkenness, they mingled with it sport, that every man did strive to counterfeit all the insolencies of Bacchus, as if god Bacchus himself had been there in person, and had led the mummery.

When he came unto the king's castle of Gedrosia, he stayed there also certain days to refresh his army with feasting and banqueting. Thither came Nearchus his Admiral unto him, who
20 made report what he had seen and done in his navigation. Alexander was so glad of that, as he was desirous to sail by sea himself: and so entering into the sea Oceanus by the mouth of Euphrates, with a great fleet of ships, to compass in all the coasts of Arabia and Africa, and thence into Mare Mediterraneum, by the straits of the pillars of Hercules. To this intent he built a
The city of
Thapsacus.
great number of ships in the city of
Thapsacus, and sent for mariners, ship-
30 masters and pilots out of all parts. But now the difficulty of the journey which he took upon him for the conquest of India, the danger he was in

when he fought with the Mallians, and the number of his men which he lost besides, which was very great : all these things considered together, making men believe that he should never return with safety, they made all the people (which he had conquered) bold to rise against him, and gave his Governors and Lieutenants of provinces occasion to commit great insolencies, robberies and exactions of people. To be short, it put all his kingdom in broil and sedition. Insomuch as Olympias and Cleopatra rising against Antipater, they divided his government between them : Olympias choosing for her the kingdom of Epirus : and Cleopatra the kingdom of Macedon. Which when Alexander had heard, he said, his mother was the wisest · for the realm of Macedon would never have suffered a woman to reign over them. Thereupon he sent Nearchus back again to the sea, determining to fill all the sea coasts with war.

The provinces
conquered by
Alexander
rebelled
against him 10

20

As he came through the country of Persia, he first renewed the old custom there, which was : that as oftentimes as the kings did return home from any far journey, they gave unto every woman a crown a-piece. It is said therefore that for this cause, some of their natural kings many times did not return again into their country : and that Ochus amongst others did not so much as once return back again, willingly banishing himself out of his country, of niggardliness, because he would not be at this charge. After that, Cyrus' tomb (king of Persia) being found and

The death of
Polymachus
Pelleian 30

broken up, he put him to death that did it, although he were a Macedonian of the city of Pella, (and none of the meanest) called Polymachus. When he had read the inscription written upon it in the Persian tongue, he would needs have it also written in the Greek tongue: and this it was: O man,

Cyrus'
Epitaph over
his tomb.

what so thou art, and whence soever thou comest, for I know thou shalt come: I am Cyrus that conquered the Empire of Persia: I pray thee envy me not for this little earth that covereth my body. These words pierced Alexander's heart, when he considered the uncertainty of worldly things.

There also Alexander did bid divers of his friends and Captains to supper to him, and there

Alexander
made men
drink to win
a game and
prize.

did bring forth a crown for a reward unto him that drank best. He that drank most of all other, was one Promachus, that drank four gallons of wine, and won the crown worth a talent: but he lived not above three days after. And of other also that fell in sport to quaffing, who should drink most, there died of them (as Chares writeth) one and forty persons, of an extreme cold that took them in their drunkenness and wine. When they were in

The Macedo-
nians married
unto the
Persians.

the city of Susa, he married certain of his friends, and himself also married Statira, one of King Darius' daughters, disposing also of the other Persian Ladies (according to their estate and birth) unto his best friends. He made also a solemn feast of common marriages amongst the Macedonians, of them that had been

married before. At which feast, it is written, that nine thousand persons sitting at the boards, he gave unto every one of them a cup of gold to offer wine in honour of the gods. And there also amongst other wonderful gifts, he did pay all the debts the Macedonians ought unto their creditors, the which amounted unto the sum of ten thousand talents, saving a hundred and thirty less.

The wonderful gifts of Alexander
He paid the soldiers' debts

Now the 30,000 young boys which Alexander had left to the government of Captains, to train and exercise them in the discipline of war, they being grown strong men, and lusty youths, excellently well trained and ready in arms, Alexander rejoiced when he saw them. This notwithstanding did much discourage the Macedonians, and made them greatly afraid, because they thought that from thenceforth the king would make less account of them. For when Alexander would have sent the sick and impotent persons, which had been maimed in the wars, into the low country to the sea side, they answered him, that so doing he should do them great wrong, to send these poor men from him in that sort (after they had done him all the service they could) home to their country and friends, in worse case than he took them from thence. And therefore they said, if he would send away some, let him send them all away as men unserviceable, specially sithence he had now such goodly young dancers about him, with whom he might go conquer the world.

Thirty thousand boys of the Persians, taught the discipline of war by Alexander's commandment.

Alexander was marvellously offended with their proud words, insomuch that in his anger he reviled them all, put away his ordinary guard, and took other Persians in their place, making some the guard about his own person ; others, his ushers, heralds, and ministers to execute his will and commandment. The poor Macedonians seeing Alexander thus waited on, and themselves so shamefully rejected, they let fall their stoutness, 10 and after they had communed of the matter together, they were ready to tear themselves for spite and malice. In fine, when they had laid their heads together, they consented to go unto his tent, and without weapons, naked in their shirts, to yield themselves unto him weeping and howling, beseeching him to do with them what pleased him, and to use them like wretched unthankful creatures. But Alexander, though his anger was now somewhat pacified, did not receive them the 20 first time, neither did they also go their ways, but remained there two days and nights together in this pitiful state, before the door of his tent, lamenting unto him, and calling him their sovereign, and king ; until that he came himself out of his tent the third day, and seeing the poor wretches in this grievous and pitiful state, he himself fell a-weeping a long time. So after he had a little re-
buked them, he called them courteously, and gave the impotent and sick persons
leave to depart home, rewarding them
very honourably. Furthermore he wrote unto
Antipater his Lieutenant, that he should give them

The clemency
and liberality
of Alexander
unto his
soldiers.

always the highest place in all common sports and assemblies, and that they shall be crowned with garlands of flowers. Moreover, he commanded that the orphans whose parents were slain in the wars, should receive the pay of their fathers.

After Alexander was come unto the city of Ecbatana, in the kingdom of Media, and that he had despatched his weightiest causes, he gave himself again unto public sports, feasts and pastimes, for that there were newly come unto him ¹⁰ out of Greece, three thousand excellent masters and devisers of such sports. About that time it chanced, that Hephaestion fell sick of an ague. But he being a young man of war did not regard his mouth as he should have done, but having spied opportunity that his Physician Glaucus was gone unto the Theatre, to see the sports and pastimes, he went to dinner, and ate a roasted Capon whole, and drank a great pot full of wine, which he had caused to be set in water · whereupon his ²⁰ fever took him so sorely, that he lived not long after. Alexander unwisely took the chance of his death, and commanded all the hairs of his horse and mules to be presently shorn, in token of mourning; and that ^{Alexander's sorrow for the death of Hephaestion.} all the battlements of the walls of cities also should be overthrown, and hung up poor Glaucus his Physician upon a cross, and commanded that ³⁰ no minstrel shall be heard play of any kind of instrument within his camp: until that there was brought him an oracle from Jupiter Ammon, commanding that Hephaestion should be wor-

shipped and sacrificed unto, as a demi-god. In the end, to pass over his mourning and sorrow, he went unto the wars, as unto an hunting of men, and there subdued the people of the Cossaeans, whom he plucked up by the roots, and slew man, woman, and child. And this was called the sacrifice of Hephæstion's funerals.

Now as he was ready to take his journey to go unto Babylon, Nearchus his Admiral came again
10 unto him from the great sea Oceanus, by the river of Euphrates; and told him, how certain Chaldean Soothsayers came unto him, who did warn him that he should not go into Babylon. Howbeit Alexander made no reckoning of it, but went on.

[Alexander's mind is now troubled by many ill signs and tokens. He fears that the gods have forsaken him.]

Now after that Alexander had left his trust and confidence in the gods, his mind was so
20 troubled and afraid, that no strange thing happened unto him, (how little soever it was) but he took it straight for a sign and prediction from the gods: so that his tent was always full of Priests, and Soothsayers, that did nothing but sacrifice and purify, and tend upon divinements. So horrible a thing is the mistrust and contempt of the gods, when it is begotten in the hearts of men; and superstition also so dreadful, that it filleth the
guilty consciences and fearful hearts, like water
30 distilling from above: as at that time it filled Alexander with all folly, after that fear had once

possessed him. This notwithstanding, after that he had received some answers touching Hephaestion from the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, he left his sorrow, and returned again to his banquets and feastings. For he did sumptuously feast Nearchus, and one day when he came out of his bath according to his manner, being ready to go to bed, Medius one of his Captains besought him to come to a banquet to him to his lodging. Alexander went thither, and drank there all that 10 night and the next day, so that he got an ague by it. But that came not (as some write) by drinking up Hercules' cup all at a draught; neither for the sudden pain he felt between his shoulders, as if he had been thrust into the back with a spear: for all these were thought to be written by some for lies and fables, because they would have made the end of this great tragedy lamentable and pitiful. But Aristobulus writeth, that he had such an extreme 20 fever and thirst withal, that he drank wine, and after that fell a-raving, and at the length died the thirtieth day of the month of June. In his household book of things passed daily, it is written, that his fever being upon him, he slept at his hot house on the eighteenth day of June. The next morning after he was come out of his hot house, he went into his chamber, and passed away all that day with Medius, playing at dice and at night very late, 30 after he had bathed himself and sacrificed unto the gods, he fell to meat, and had his fever that

Alexander
fell sick of
an ague.

Aristobulus'
report of the
sickness and
death of
Alexander.

night. And the twentieth day also, bathing himself again, and making his ordinary sacrifice unto the gods, he did sit down to eat within his stove, hearkening unto Nearchus that told him strange things he had seen in the great sea Oceanus. The one and twentieth day also having done the like as before, he was much more inflamed than he had been, and felt himself very ill all night, and the next day following in a great fever : and
10 on that day he made his bed to be removed, and to be set up by the fish ponds, where he communed with his captains touching certain rooms that were void in his army, and commanded them not to place any men that were not of good experience. The three and twentieth day having an extreme fever upon him, he was carried unto the sacrifices, and commanded that his chiefest Captains only should remain in his lodging, and that the other meaner sort, as Centeniers and
20 Lieutenants of bands, that they should watch and ward without. The four and twentieth day, he was carried unto the other palace of the kings, which is on the other side of the lake, where he slept a little, but the fever never left him . and when his Captains and Noblemen came to do him humble reverence, and to see him, he lay speechless. So did he the five and twentieth day also : insomuch as the Macedonians thought he was dead. Then they came and knocked at the
30 palace gate, and cried out unto his friends and familiars, and threatened them, so that they were compelled to open them the gate. Thereupon

the gates were opened, and they coming in their gowns, went unto his bed side to see him. That self day Python and Seleucus were appointed by the king's friends to go to the temple of the god Serapis, to know if they should bring King Alexander thither. The god answered them, that they should not remove him from thence. The death of Alexander the Great
 The eight and twentieth day at night Alexander died. Thus it is written word for word in manner, in the household book of remembrance.

At that present time, there was no suspicion that he was poisoned. Yet they say, that six years after, there appeared some proof that he was poisoned. Whereupon his mother Olympias put many men to death, and cast the ashes of Iolas into the wind, that was dead before, for that it was said he gave him poison in his drink. They that think it was Aristotle that counselled Antipater to do it, by whose means the poison was brought, they say, that Agnothemis reported it, having heard it of King Antigonus' own mouth. Aristotle suspected for the poisoning of Alexander. 20
 The poison (as some say) was cold as ice, and falleth from a rock in the territory of the city of Nonacris, and it is gathered as they would gather a dew into the horn of the foot of an ass, for there is no other kind of thing that will keep it, it is so extreme cold and piercing. Others maintain, and say, that the report of his poisoning is untrue: and for proof 30 thereof they allege this reason, which is of no small importance, that is: That the chiefest

Captains fell at great variance after his death, so that the corpse of Alexander remained many days naked without burial, in a hot dry country, and yet there never appeared any sign or token upon his body, that he was poisoned, but was still a
6 clean and fair corpse as could be.

THE END OF ALEXANDER'S LIFE.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

1. 2. **Carānus**, one of the descendants of Hercules. He first laid the foundation of the Macedonian kingdom in 814 B.C.

4. **the Aeacides**, the descendants of Aeācus, the grandfather of Achilles. Neoptolēmus, the son of Achilles, was King of Epirus; and another Neoptolemus, also King of Epirus, was the father of Olympias.

9 **Sāmothrace** Here certain deities called the Cabīri were worshipped, and their mysteries celebrated with great solemnity. Philip was being initiated into these rites when he met Olympias.

18. **Potidaea**, situated on the isthmus which connects the peninsula of Pallēne with the mainland. Originally a colony of Corinth, it subsequently became a tributary city to Athens; its revolt and siege formed important incidents at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. But Plutarch is mistaken in this passage, for Potidaea was captured two years before the birth of Alexander.

20 **Parmēnio**. He served under both Philip and Alexander. Philip declared he was the only real general he had ever known. For his death see page 55.

21 **the Illyrians** were inveterate enemies of Macedon; it was during one of their invasions that Philip's predecessor on the throne had been killed.

22. **won the bell and prize at the Olympian games**. Philip's horse had "won the bell," or come in first, at the Olympian games; these were the great athletic festival in Greece, held once in every four years. The prize was a crown of olive.

2. 8. **Lysippus**, a famous sculptor, born at Sīcŷon. He is said to have left 1500 statues behind him.

* 17 **Apelles**, a celebrated painter of Cos or else Ephesus. He is said to have painted an equestrian portrait of Alexander so successfully that a horse neighed at the animal in the picture, supposing it to be alive.

24. **Aristoxēnus**, a follower of Aristotle. He was a philosopher

2. 32. **Theophrastus**, a very famous philosopher, who used to teach at Athens. He died at a great age about 300 B.C.

4. 29 **Thessālian**, from Thessaly.

30. **Bucephall**, more usually called **Bucephālus**.

31. **thirteen talents**, about £3000.

6. 24 **schoolmasters of music and humanity** The ordinary Greek boy's education consisted of reading and writing, literary appreciation, and, when the boy was older, training in rhetoric. He also learnt to sing and play on the lyre.

29 **Sōphōclēs**, one of the three great tragic dramatists at Athens, the other two being **Aeschylus** and **Euripides**. **Sophocles** lived from 495 to 406 B.C. This quotation comes from one of his plays which has since been lost.

31. **Aristotle**, the great philosopher, who used to teach in the **Lycæum** at Athens. He lived from 384 to 321 B.C.

7. 9. **Mieza**. Its position was not known. Possibly it was near **Beroea**.

16 **Acroāmātā or Epoptica**. These mean the doctrines "designed for hearing only," or "meant for the deeply initiated." The ordinary student did not study them.

22 **Physic**, or, as we should say, **Medicine**.

30 τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος νάρθηξ means a small casket. Alexander's copy was kept in such a casket. See p. 29

8. 1 **Ōnēsīcrātus** accompanied Alexander into Asia and wrote a history of the expedition, a work full of inaccurate and absurd statements. He was afterwards made pilot of the fleet which sailed from the mouth of the Indus to Babylon. See page 70, line 27.

5 **Harpālus** was entrusted by Alexander with the treasures of Babylon. This trust he betrayed.

6 **Phlistus** wrote a history of Sicily in twelve books.

8 **Tēlestus** and **Phīloxēnus** were two poets who flourished about 400 B.C. and wrote dithyrambs. These were odes sung by a chorus in honour of **Bacchus**, wild and vehement in character.

17 **the Medarians**. We know of no such people, but **Livy** tells us of a Thracian tribe called **Medi** who used to invade **Macedonia**.

23. **Chaerōnēā**. This was **Plutarch's** birthplace, and here in 338 B.C. was fought the great battle in which **Philip of Macedon** defeated the Greeks. From this victory dates the **Macedonian supremacy**.

25 **the holy band of the Thebans**, or the **Sacred Band**, was a special body of troops, composed of the flower of the Theban youth and united by bonds of friendship. In this battle they displayed the utmost heroism, fighting till they fell.

CHAPTER II.

10. 3 **dangerous enemies.** His chief enemies were the members of the Corinthian confederacy (a league originally formed by Philip), the Thracians, and the Illyrians

11. 8. **the Triballi** were the most powerful of the Thracian tribes

14. **Dēmōsthēnēs**, the great Athenian orator. It was he who was most active in stirring up the Athenians and the Greeks generally to resist Philip and Alexander

26 **Philōtas**, a son of Parmēnio. See page 55.

27 **Antīpāter** He was afterwards regent of Macedon while Alexander was in Asia

12. 5. **the Cadmaea**, the citadel of Thebes, supposed to have been built by Cadmus.

17 **Pindārus**, or Pindar, was a lyric poet of Thebes. He wrote odes in honour of the victors at the Olympian games

13. 4 **Sinopian**, a native of Sīnōpē, on the south coast of the Euxine, a colony of Milētus

7 **Cranium** was the aristocratic quarter of the city where the rich Corinthians lived Here was the chief promenade of the town Diōgēnes therefore was in striking contrast with his surroundings

24. **Dariūs, King of Persia** There were three kings of Persia called Darius The first was the king who invaded Greece in 490 B.C. He was succeeded by Xerxes, who was in turn succeeded by the second Darius But the Darius in the life of Alexander was the last of the kings of Persia; he is known as Darius Codomanus.

15. 26 **Clitus** was the foster-brother of Alexander, who afterwards in a fit of wild passion murdered him See pages 56-59

16 16 **Aristōbūlus**, one of Alexander's followers, who wrote an account of his life

17. 12 **Midas**, a mythical king of Phrygia, and son of Gordius. According to the legend, Bacchus promised to fulfil any wish of his, and he wished that all he touched should turn into gold.

25. **by taking the bolt out of the axle.** Apparently this means that he took out the pin which fastened the yoke of the chariot to the pole.

30. **Memnon** had already begun to reduce the Greek islands, and was on the point of invading Euboea

18. 12. **one of the chamber,** one of his chamberlains.

14 **Bēlus**, or Bel, was one of the ancient kings of Babylon. He was made a god after his death, and was much worshipped by the Assyrians and the Babylonians

19. **Asgandes**, a Persian word, meaning a courier.

19. 3 **Acarnanian**, of Acarnāniā

CHAPTER III.

22. 23. Chares, an officer of Alexander. He wrote a collection of anecdotes in ten books concerning the campaigns and private life of Alexander

23. 8. Damas, or Damascus

24. 7 Leonātus, one of Alexander's generals. After Alexander's death he became governor of part of Phrygia.

25. 5 the Princess Ada, the sister of Mausōlus, the King of Caria whose remains were placed in a tomb of such remarkable beauty that from it the word Mausoleum has come into our language. On his death this princess succeeded to the throne ; she was deposed by another brother, but restored by Alexander.

14. Leōnidas, a man of some distinction, and a relative of Alexander's mother.

26. 14. rub and anoint. It was a regular custom among the Greeks to anoint themselves after their bath with perfumed oil, and then to rub themselves with a special instrument.

29. 3 Cleopatra, a sister of Alexander the Great

6 frankincense and myrrh are both precious gums obtained from trees, and burning with a fragrant smell They were used as incense.

32. Heraclides was a pupil both of Plato and Aristotle, and the author of numerous works on all kinds of subjects.

30. 3 The great city was of course Alexandria, which quickly grew to be the greatest city (after Rome) in the Mediterranean. The destruction of Tyre, and the Indian and Arabian trade which Alexander opened up, were the two chief causes of this.

12. The quotation comes from the *Odyssey*, Book IV, lines 354-5.

15 Phāros On this small island, which was nearly a mile from the mainland, the famous lighthouse of Alexandria was afterwards built

31. 20 Ammon was originally an Ethiopian god. He was their supreme deity, and therefore identified with Jupiter by the Romans. His statue had the horns of a ram ; and his temple was in an oasis in the Libyan desert, twelve days' journey from Memphis.

31. Cambyses, King of Persia, was the son of Cyrus the Great. He conquered Egypt in 525 B C.

32. 25. Callisthēnes, a philosopher of Olynthus, and a relation of Aristotle. He afterwards refused to pay divine honours to Alexander.

33. 16. out of Phoenicia into Egypt This is a mis-translation ; the Greek has "out of Egypt to Phoenicia "

CHAPTER IV

35. 14 **an eclipse of the Moon.** This has been calculated by astronomers to have taken place on Sept 20-21, 331 B.C.

36. 5 **Niphātes** was a mountain, not a river. Amyot is responsible for this mistake.

38. 30. **Theophilus** Otherwise unknown.

39. 6 **Hēlīcon**, famed for his skill in weaving many-coloured cloth. He probably flourished about 440 B.C.

31 **an Eagle** This bird was sacred to Jupiter.

42. 19 **Naphtha**, liquid distilled from coal tar; rock oil.

43. 15 **Mēdēa's** husband, Jāson, was proposing to marry Glauē, the daughter of Creon, the King of Corinth. Medea revenged herself by killing Glauē and also Jason's children. Euripides wrote a tragedy on this theme.

23. This sentence appears to mean that dry substances will not catch fire at a distance from the flames, but certain oily substances will ignite even though not in actual contact with the fire.

44. 9 **Harpalus.** See 8. 5, note.

45. 4. **Dīnon** wrote a history of Persia.

22 **the Nun Pythias** The Pythia was the priestess of Apollo at Delphi; she used to give the answers when the oracle was consulted.

46. 10 **Thāis** afterwards married Ptōlemy, King of Egypt.

48. 5 **Antipater** See 11. 27, note.

12. **Teian**, of Teos.

CHAPTER V.

52. 4. **Bessus** was satrap, or Persian governor, of Bactria.

15. **the sea Caspian.** Alexander apparently mistook it for an arm of the Sea of Azov, or Lake Maeōtis. Plutarch, on the other hand, regards it as a gulf of the Arctic Ocean.

53. 22 **without breeches.** The Greek says "with breeches," which were of course worn by the Persians, but strange to the Greeks.

54. 11 **Tānāis** Having identified the Caspian Sea with the Sea of Azov, Alexander not unnaturally made the further mistake of supposing the Orexartes (more correctly the Jaxartes, or the Syr Daria) which flows into Lake Aīal, to be the Tanais or Don, which flows into the Sea of Azov.

55. 13 **Hephaestion**, the friend of Alexander. How great Alexander's affection for him was may be guessed from the grief he displayed at his death. See page 77.

29. **Clitus.** See 15. 26, note.

56. 13. the accustomed sprinklings, of wine or meal

16. *Lacōnian*, the Lacedaemonian.

26. *Castor and Pollux*. They were the twin sons of Jupiter and Leda, and were passionately attached to one another. To reward their devotion Jupiter placed them in the sky as the constellation *Gēminī*. It is appropriate for Alexander to sacrifice to them on this occasion, as they stand as a great example of friendship.

57. 22. *Spithridātes*. See page 15.

27. the son of Jupiter *Ammon*. See page 32, line 32.

58. 12. *Cardian*. *Cardia* was a town on the Hellespont.

Colophonian. *Cōlōphōn* was a few miles north of Ephesus.

30. the *Macedonian tongue*. Apparently Alexander spoke Greek as a rule, but in moments of stress or excitement used the Macedonian dialect.

59. 10. This quotation comes from the *Andrōmāchē*, line 693.

60. 5. *Callisthēnes*. See 32. 25, note.

6. *Anaxarchus*, a disciple of *Dēmōcritus*, the philosopher who laughed at the follies of mankind, and held that the soul perished at death.

24. *Thēmis*, the goddess who personified Law and Justice.

CHAPTER VI

61. 1. *King Pōrus* ruled over the land between the Hydaspes, the modern Jhelum, and the *Acēsīnēs*, or *Chenab*, which flows into it.

62. 12. *Onesicritus*. See 8. 1, note.

63. 18. *four cubits and a shaft length*. Four cubits measure 6 feet, and the Greek word translated "shaft-length" really means a "span," that is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

64. 31. *Sōtīon*, a grammarian of Alexandria, who flourished in the time of *Tibērius*.

32. *Pōtāmon* of Lesbos was a rhetorician, high in favour with *Tibērius*.

65. 14. *Gandarīdae*, more correctly *Gangarīdae*, a tribe living near the mouth of the Ganges. (On the map they are marked west of the Indus; this is an error.)

Praesii, a tribe living along the banks of the Ganges.

20. *Androcottus*, or *Sandrocottus*, was an Indian who after Alexander's death made himself master of a part of the country which was in the hands of *Seleucus*.

21. *Sēleucus* was one of the generals of Alexander. On the death of Alexander he received Babylon as his province, and

presently assumed the title of king. He was the most powerful of the princes between whom the Macedonian Empire was divided; his successors sat on the throne of Syria.

66. 20 *Ōcéānus*. Alexander imagined this to be a stream running round the outside of the world, which of course he conceived of as being flat. He did not suppose Africa or Arabia or India to stretch far south, nor had he any idea of the existence of either China, Siberia, Northern Europe, or—it need scarcely be added—of America.

25. the city of the Mallians has been identified with the modern Multan

67. 24 *Peucestas* received Persia at the division of the Macedonian Empire on Alexander's death

68. 25 *Gymnosophistae* These appear to have resembled the modern fakirs. It is related that unless they could tell of some good deed which they had done during the day, they were not allowed any food on that day.

70. 17. *Psiltūcis* It was here that Alexander's followers first became acquainted with the ebb and flow of a tidal ocean, their ships—to their great astonishment—being left high and dry as the tide went out

71. 13. *Gedrōsia* is the desert country now known as the Mekran.

72. 13 *Bacchus* was the god of wine, and his worship was celebrated with the wildest orgies and license

27. the pillars of *Hercules* were the straits of Gibraltar. Alexander, having no idea of the extent of Africa, imagined that this voyage would be of no great length

73. 12 *Antípater* See 11. 27, note.

32. *Cyrus*. This was Cyrus the Great, who made Persia supreme over the other Eastern Empires, and conquered Croesus of Lydia in 546 B C.

74. 2. *Pella* was the capital of Macedon, and the birthplace of Alexander.

19 four gallons of wine is about 25 ordinary wine bottles.

23. *Chares*. See 22. 23, note.

77. 14 did not regard his mouth means that he did not diet himself strictly.

22 unwisely took the chance, that is, his grief at the misfortune excelled all bounds of wisdom.

78. 12. *Chaldaean Soothsayers* The Chaldaeans inherited the country round the north of the Persian Gulf, and were famed for their skill in astrology.

79. 13. *Hercules' cup* Probably this expression simply means a large cup, such as Hercules might use, or it may mean a cup drunk by Alexander in honour of Hercules as founder of his race

79. 19. **Aristöbülus** See 16. 16, note.

81. 3. **Sēleucus**. See 65. 21, note.

5 **Sērāpis**, an Egyptian deity, supposed to be the same as Ōsiris.

10 **the household book of remembrance**, the Ephēmērides or Court Journal. Arrian also quotes it.

16 **Iōlas**, the son of Antipater, and brother of Cassander, King of Macedon. He was cup bearer to Alexander at the time of his last illness.

23. **Antīgōnus** was one of Alexander's generals. On the division of his dominions he received Pamphylia, Lycia and Phrygia. He fought with the other generals of Alexander, and at last they surrendered to him the possession of Asia. He assumed the title of king in 306. In 301 his power had grown so formidable that a coalition was formed against him ; he was defeated, and died of his wounds.

GLOSSARY.

The large-type numeral gives the page, the smaller numeral gives the line on the page where the word occurs

- ado (14. 28 and elsewhere), difficulty.
- adventure, at all adventure (51. 14), at random
- advertise (19 13, 38 8), tell.
- affiance (6 23), trust.
- albeit (22. 14, 63 32), although
- alongst (39 10), along.
- amated (28 8), disconcerted
- architector (30. 26), architect.
- arras (71 26), tapestry, hangings
- assay (3. 20), attempt.
- astomied (67 31), stunned.
- axtree (17 26), axle.
- battle (15 32, 16 1, 40. 5, 62 21), army, division of an army.
- bearing himself of (19 4), behaving in accordance with.
- bibber (25 23), drinker.
- brake (15. 16, 66 31), broke
- bravery (6. 11), pride.
- brigandine (38. 26), a tunic or coat, usually of leather protected by metal plates.
- broil (73. 10), tumult, discord
- brook (48. 4), endure
- budget (44. 8), bag, wine-skin.
- but (25 26), only
- capon (77 18), a large fowl.
- career (6. 6, 6 10), gallop
- carriage (23. 8, 38. 6, 48 15), baggage.
- cassock (38 26), a shirt
- cast (22. 16), device; (43. 19), catch; at the last cast (51. 21), in an extremity; cast the platform (30 27), mark out the plan
- centenier (80 19), centurion, captain of a hundred men
- charge (73 31), expense
- charnel (8 29), containing the bodies of the dead.
- charret (17 12 and elsewhere), chariot
- choice (61 13), picked men.
- choler (58 22), anger
- churlish (5 1), ill-tempered.
- clemency (24 16), mercy
- coat-armour (39 3), a surcoat, worked with the coat of arms or distinctive mark of the wearer
- coffer (29 21), casket.
- compass (45. 19), circuit
- conceits (25 20), delicacies; (42. 32), quaint ideas
- continency (24 31), self-control
- coptanet (53 24), conical
- corked (48 13), with a cork sole or heel
- corruption, matter of corruption (3 7), decaying matter.
- countenance to fly (41. 12), appearance of flying.
- cubit (63. 18), a measure of length, about 18 inches.

curass (67. 19, 68. 6), breast-plate.
curiosity (49. 4), fastidiousness, delicacy
curious (26. 17, 27. 6), careful, attentive.

distill (78. 30), fall gently.
divers (2. 10 and elsewhere), various.
drachma (27. 14), a silver coin, worth about 9½d
draught (31. 5), drawing.
drave (8. 19, 20. 10), drove.
dromedary (35. 11), a camel with one hump.
drought (71. 5), dryness
durst (18. 30, 27. 1), dared.

element (31. 9, 32. 15), sky.
environed (12. 6, 22. 17), surrounded.
eschew (54. 9), try to avoid.
ewer (23. 20), pitcher.
exaction (73. 9), extortion.
exercise practice (7. 24), make practical use of his knowledge.
eyelet-holes (38. 27), small holes for laces or hooks.

faculty (55. 3), a branch or department of knowledge
familiar (13. 18 and elsewhere), friend.
familiarly (4. 1), in a friendly manner.
fancy (1. 6), love
fashion (31. 4), shape
fathom (65. 11), a measure of length, 6 feet.
fellows (47. 30), peers, equals.
fine, in fine (34. 4, 41. 18, 70. 12, 76. 12), in the end, to sum up.
finger (68. 10), a measure of length, the breadth of a finger, about ¾ inch.
fond (36. 20), foolish.

good, a good, (6. 7), well.
gotten (29. 22, 39. 15, 52. 3), got
greedy-gut (25. 3), glutton.
guidon (14. 15), flag, division of soldiers.

hap (21. 19), event; **good hap**, (24. 6, 43. 9, 52. 3, 67. 5), good fortune.
hard (30. 24), close to
hard-favoured (42. 28), ugly
harness (62. 18, 67. 6), armour.
high countries (4. 6, 8. 3, 18. 2), upper or inland countries.
historiographers (29. 30), historians
holden (22. 3), held.
hot-house (79. 28), the hot-room of a bath.
howbeit (17. 7 and elsewhere), nevertheless.
humour (43. 26), disposition, nature.

ill-favoured (22. 7), ugly, difficult
impotent (75. 21, 76. 29), feeble, powerless.
impression, by the forcible impression of his beams (43. 29), by the beams beating violently down upon it.
in (26. 9), with.
inflammation (44. 5), extreme heat
institution (8. 2), foundation, system of rules

jeopard (5. 22), risk.

knack (25. 20), a dainty dish.

large, at large (xix. 6, 61. 2), at length.

lawn (43. 16), fine linen

let (40. 23), hinder.

lieutenant (8. 15), deputy.

light (xx. 1), slight

like (19. 31), the same.
 list (13. 20), please
 lodging (21. 21), camp.
 looseness of body (54. 14),
 diarrhoea.
 low countries (56. 5, 75. 22),
 low-lying countries, near the
 sea coast.

malapertness (58. 16), impu-
 dence.

manner, in manner (12. 7 and
 elsewhere), almost, as it were.

marchpanes (25. 9), highly-
 spiced cakes

marsh (52. 21), marsh.

martial (8. 2), warlike.

maund (42. 11), malm, soft
 chalky rock.

mean (53. 24), between two
 extremes

middest (17. 23, 40. 10, 63. 7,
 67. 5), midst.

mislike (3. 23), dislike.

moyle (46. 2, 50. 8), mule

munition (36. 32), materials used
 in war.

mummery (72. 15), sport,
 buffoonery.

niggard (29. 19), a miserly
 person.

often (48. 27), frequent.

old (56. 27), plentiful.

ordinance (40. 16), order.

ought (75. 6), owed.

over-harried (27. 30), tired out.

pantlers (26. 15), butlers.

partisan (15. 28, 59. 12), short
 spear.

passing (23. 22), very.

pastlers (25. 10), pastry cooks.

pell-mell (14. 31), in any order.

peradventure (2. 30, 44. 19),
 perhaps.

perforce (59. 24), forcibly.

personage (2. 7), appearance.

pleasant (36. 21), jocular.

policy (22. 16), cunning.

post (47. 31), quite.

potion (19. 24), dose

prefer (24. 30), to put first.

prognosticate (28. 11, 28. 30),
 foretell.

prognostication (60. 1), a
 prophecy

prove (17. 19, 19. 6, 36. 26), try.

purreblind (54. 7), purblind,
 partially blind.

ravish (4. 9), entrance.

ray (14. 21 and elsewhere),
 array

raze (12. 8), to level with the
 ground.

regard (14. 3), reputation.

rehearse (33. 5), repeat.

religious (1. 11, 12. 15), priests
 and religious officials.

remember (59. 31), remind.

respect, in respect of (4. 11), in
 comparison with

rhetorician (3. 15), orator.

room (80. 12), post

savour (2. 25, 71. 10), smell.

scant (20. 14), scantily (63. 16),
 scarcely.

set (72. 6), sitting.

shawm (72. 8), a wind instru-
 ment of music.

signiory (4. 27, 33. 29),
 dominion.

sith (47. 11), sithence (54. 4,
 60. 21, 75. 30), since.

skirts (31. 4), the lower part of
 a cloak.

soothe (26. 29), flatter.

soothsayer (2. 3, 36. 1, 39. 27,
 78. 24), one who foretells
 events.

sort (47. 13, 75. 25), way; in
 a certain sort (32. 11), in a
 certain degree.

spake (24. 28), spoke.

sport (xx. 1), jest.

spue (42. 10), vomit.
spur, upon the spur (51. 15), as fast as possible.
stablish (60. 20), establish.
stipend (7. 2), pay.
stoutness (76. 9), firm resolution.
stove (80. 3), the hot-room of a bath
straight (11. 4, 15. 17, 17. 5), at once.
strait (11. 12, 21. 6, 22. 1, 36. 30), pass; (12. 29), isthmus.
strake (59. 2, 67. 18), struck.
strived (33. 22), strove.
subtlest (69. 13), most subtle or cunning.
suit-like to (38. 30), of the same metal as
sundry (8. 20, 25. 8, 33. 18), various.
swarter (2. 20), more swarthy, of a darker complexion.
swound (68. 3, 68. 11), swoon.
talent (4. 31 and elsewhere), a sum of money worth about £235; (29. 5), a weight, usually about 4 stone
tare (52. 4), tore.
target (16. 23, 71. 32), shield.

tarry (13. 26), delay.
temper (39. 1), the state of a metal as to its hardness; (44. 16), nature.
thitherunto (65. 26), up to that time
toils (48. 18), nets
troth (17. 15), truth
using (39. 2), making it his habit.
vantage (23. 1), advantage.
variance, at great variance (82. 1), into great disputes.
vial (23. 20), small bottle.
void (80. 13), empty
ward (80. 21), guard.
wether (56. 12), a sheep.
whelp, of a whelp (64. 29), from a puppy.
to wit (68. 25), that is
withal (19. 25, 48. 1, 79. 21), besides; (43. 8), with it, at it.
within night (42. 25), almost night.
wreak his anger (56. 3), inflict his anger.
yerke (5. 5), jerk, kick.

QUESTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

1. Explain.—the blood of the Aeacides, the holy band of the Thebans, yerke out, Acroamata, the high countries of Asia, his horse won the bell and prize at the Olympian games.

2 Express in your own words.—

They say also, that King Philip, his father, when he was a young man, fell in fancy with his mother Olympias, which at that time also was a young maiden, and an orphan without father or mother, in the Isle of Samothrace, where they were both received into the mystery and fraternity of the house of the religious.

3. Relate any stories you can of Alexander's early years which display (*a*) his pride, (*b*) his ambition.

4. Where was "Alexander's oak"? How did it get its name?

5 Write an imaginary letter from a Macedonian noble who was present at the taming of Bucephall.

CHAPTER II.

1. Explain—guidons, pell-mell, a place called Cranium, the Cadmaea, Asgandes

2. Describe Alexander's treatment of Thebes after he had taken the city.

3. Give an account of Alexander's interview with Diogenes.

4 What does the expression "to cut the Gordian knot" mean? How did it get its meaning?

5. How did Alexander show his trust in his physician Philip?

CHAPTER III.

1. Explain.—amated, marchpanes, ewer, they should cast the platform of the city.

2 What do you know of (*a*) Jupiter Ammon, (*b*) Cambyses, (*c*) the Isle of Pharos?

3. What do you learn from this chapter of Alexander's character and habits? Answer with special reference to (a) his chivalry, (b) his abstemiousness, (c) his love of flattery, (d) his daily life

4. In what way did Alexander take advantage of the lie of the ground at the battle of Issus?

5. Do you know anything of the subsequent history of the great city which Alexander founded in Egypt? What circumstances quickly made it important?

CHAPTER IV.

1. Explain :—the Nun Pythias, king's fellows, moyles, brigandine, budgets.

2. Express in your own words :—

For the beams which the fire casteth out, have over some bodies no other force, but to heat and lighten them : but such as have an oily dry humour, and thereby a sympathy and proportional conformity with the nature of the fire, it easily inflameth and setteth on fire, by the forcible impression of his beams.

3. "I will not steal victory." On what occasion did Alexander say this? Do you regard it as a piece of bravado or wise generalship?

4. Describe the armour worn by Alexander at the battle of Gaugamela

5. Tell the story of the experiment with Naphtha upon the page Stephen.

CHAPTER V.

1. Explain :—marish, coptanct, partisan, purre-blind, old drinking, malapertness.

2. How can you infer from this chapter that Alexander usually spoke Greek?

3. Explain Alexander's misconceptions as to the position of the Caspian Sea and of the River Orexartes

4. How did Alexander punish Bessus for the murder of Darius. Quote North's words if you can.

5. What can be said in justification of the putting to death of Philotas, Parmenio, or Clitus? Which of these murders do you think the most, and which the least excusable? Give your reasons.

CHAPTER VI.

1. Explain :—arras, shawms, pillars of Hercules, Hercules' cup, the household book of remembrance, the sacrifice of Hephaestion's funeral

2. Express in your own words .—

So horrible a thing is the mistrust and contempt of the gods, when it is begotten in the hearts of men ; and superstition also so dreadful, that it filleth the guilty consciences and fearful hearts like water distilling from above as at that time it filled Alexander with all folly, after that fever had once possessed him.

3. Describe King Porus. What can you remember about the elephant which carried him ?

4. Write an account of Alexander's adventures at the city of the Mallians

5. Write a letter from one of the sailors in the fleet of Nearchus just before they set sail from the mouth of the Indus.

GENERAL QUESTIONS.

1. Plutarch wrote biographies, not histories. How do the objects and methods of the biographer differ from those of the historian ?

2. What do you regard as the special virtues of North's English ? Illustrate your answer by quotations wherever you can.

3. Describe the character of Alexander. Support each statement you make about him by definite evidence from this life.

4. What do you know of the education of Alexander ? What signs are there that he profited by it ?

5. What would the world have lost if Alexander had been killed at the battle of Granicus ?

6. The shades of Alexander and Darius meet in the underworld. Make Alexander justify his conquests to Darius

7. Describe, with a sketch map if possible, Alexander's idea of the geography of the world.

8. Subjects for poems .

(a) The execution of Parmenio (see page 55).

(b) Alexander has to turn back from India.

(c) Alexander lamenting over the death of Hephaestion.

HELPS TO FURTHER STUDY.

1. *The Histories of Greece*, by Bury, Grote and Holm, will be found the three most serviceable.

The City State, by W. Warde Fowler, though it only bears indirectly on the subject, may also be read with advantage.

2. *Alexander the Great*, by Benjamin Ide Wheeler, in the "Heroes of the Nations" Series (Putnam, 5s.)

Alexander's Empire, by Mahaffy, in the "Story of the Nations" Series (Fisher Unwin, 5s.) An account of the Macedonian Empire from Alexander's accession to the battle of Pydna.

Philip and Alexander of Macedon, by D. G. Hogarth (John Murray).

3. *Alexander's Feast* · poem by Dryden.

Alexander the Great · drama by Aubrey de Vere. Older readers with an instinct for fine verse will enjoy this.

4. For an account of Plutarch, Amyot and North consult Chapter III. of the Introduction to *Shakespeare's Roman Plays and their Background*, by MacCallum (Macmillan, 10s.).

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